Vol. XIV. No. 53 March 1925

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An Irish Quarterly Review

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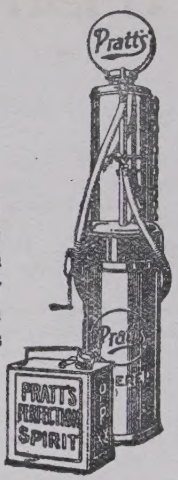

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ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 26th day of January, 1925.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1924, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£56,393	2	0
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	23,080	13	1
	£79,473	15	1
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£15,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Ten per cent. per annum free of Income Tax	25,000	0	0
To Income Tax Suspense Account	8,350	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000	0	0
To next Account	26,123	15	1
	£79,473	15	1

The Reserve Fund now stands at £560,000.

The year 1925 being the Centenary of the Establishment of the Bank, the Directors propose that it be signalized by increasing the rate of Dividend to Ten per cent. per annum, free of Income Tax, and allocating the sum of £10,000 out of the profits as the nucleus of a Fund for the benefit of the Widows and Orphans of Officials of the Bank.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN and MR. CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS
General Manager

DUBLIN 13th January, 1925.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1924. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	705,115	2	7
,, Reserve Fund	560,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz.:—			
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	13,589,617	17	9	War Loan and other British Government Stocks	6,769,384	12	4
,, Sundry Agents	29,886	6	7	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	126,597	12	10
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	9,318	4	9		7,601,097	7	9
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £79,473 15 1				,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,956,512	14	0
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 15,000 0 0				,, Sundry Agents	13,946	7	10
	64,473	15	1	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	181,739	14	7
	£14,753,296	4	2		£14,753,296	4	2

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1924.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	126,776	13	8	By Balance from last Account ...	23,080	13	1
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	15,000	0	0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	183,169	15	8
,, Dividend to be paid in February, 1925, free of Income Tax ... £ 25,000 s. 0 d. 0							
,, Income Tax Suspense Account 8,350 0 0							
,, Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0							
,, Balance to next Acct. 26,123 15 1							
	64,473	15	1				
	£206,250	8	9		£206,250	8	9

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1924, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & CO.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

DUBLIN, 13*th January*, 1925.

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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1925

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☞ STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December.

Single Copies - - 3s. 6d. net (postage 3d.).
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Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.
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GEORGE SIGERSON

Born on January 11, 1836—Died on February 17, 1925

BY PROFESSOR DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D., D.LITT.

THE remarkable man who passed away from amongst us on the 17th of February has left a gap in our midst that cannot be filled. He was as it were a giant oak which had seen generations of lesser trees grow around it and pass away, and its own fall in the fulness of years has left vacant the space which had been adorned by its stately presence. The most notable link that connected the Ireland of to-day almost with the Ireland of the Penal times, and certainly with the Ireland of nearly three quarters of a century ago, has been at last snapped. Full of old age and well-deserved honours and reverence and love this outstanding figure has departed from amongst us.

So many were his attainments and so various his interests that it is difficult to properly appraise them; but the most striking thing about him, taken as a whole, was his own career, during which he worked incessantly, never wavering in his affection for things Irish, never halting in giving his allegiance and best service to the cause of mankind and of his own country. As an Irish scholar he was the last link that connected us with the era of O'Donovan and O'Curry,[1] and one of the last that connected us with the men of '48, with Kickham and with Mitchel. He had known them all, shared their counsels and aspirations, befriended and sheltered many of them, and could tell of them from the intimacy of close association in a way that was the privilege of no other living person.

He was not the child of any one province; he was

[1] He was one of the Committee of publication of the Ossianic Society so far back as 1859, along with John O'Donovan.

all-Ireland, and one might even say cosmopolitan. Born and reared near Strabane, but with a Kerry ancestry, educated partly in Galway, partly in Cork, and later on in Paris (in close touch with the Irish there), he typified all that was best and broadest and sanest in our race. He always boasted that he came from the old Norse. He often told the present writer that Sigerson was only Sicar's or Sigurd's—son, and that though his people had been in Ireland for many hundreds of years they had never changed, as most other families had done, the "son" for 'mac," or made out of Sigurd's son mac Sigir. His northern upbringing was betrayed in his speech, which was deliberate and rather slow, never by any accident outrunning his thought, as so often happens amongst our Milesians, but rather labouring behind it; a characteristic which had at least the effect of imparting to what he said an air of considered conviction.

The following are the chief facts of his life so far as can be ascertained, and for them, especially the medical ones, I am largely indebted to the kindness of the President of University College, Dublin.

He was born at Holyhill near Strabane on the 11th of January, 1836. His family was of Kerry origin. They were settled at Ballinskelligs, where their graves are to be seen in the old Abbey, and where the remains of their ruined castle still stand out gaunt and grey against the western sea. One Christopher Sigerson appears amongst the list of the transplanted Irish in 1654, and Dr. Sigerson was probably of the same family.[1] If so, heredity would sufficiently account for his strong national sympathies. He received his early schooling in Strabane. After that we find him at Auteuil in France in the first years of Napoleon III, probably in 1852-1853. He there gained a school prize for Latin verse, and it is an interesting coincidence, showing already what was the drift of his

[1] He was engaged on a work about the Sigersons at the time of his death. He told me, if I remember rightly, that one of them had been Mayor of Liverpool.

mind, that it was for a translation of "The Exile of Erin" he won it. Few careers are more striking in their continuity than his, for he was thinking of or working for his country all the time. The prize was presented to him, as he well remembered, by the grand aumônier of the Emperor, and he had a vivid recollection of his travelling home from France in the blue uniform of a scholar worn at that period.

He matriculated in the Queen's University in 1855, when he was eighteen years old, and studied in the Faculty of Medicine in Queen's College, Galway. He continued there for about two years, winning a first year scholarship in medicine. In his third medical year he removed to Cork and studied there in '57 and '58. At that time a medical course only lasted for four years. In Cork he won a further scholarship, in the third year. In '59 we find him attending surgery lectures of the final year in the Catholic University School of Medicine in Cecilia Street, Dublin. In this year also he gained First Honours in Celtic, apparently in a special examination held *ad hoc*. There appears to have been at that time an Honours prize in Celtic and another in Sanscrit. Sigerson got First Honours in Celtic and another man First Honours in Sanscrit, and in the Calendar they are bracketed *ex aequo*. These awards in Celtic and Sanscrit appear to have been introduced in 1852 and not to have been continued beyond 1864.

In 1859, after taking his M.D. in Queen's University, Sigerson appears to have gone to France, probably to do post-graduate work for a couple of years. In after times he dedicated some of his medical work to his beloved master Duchenne (de Boulogne), under whom he must at this time have been studying. He was also, either then or later on, in close touch with Charcot at La Salpêtrière; but as Charcot, born in 1825, was at this time a comparatively young man, it is probable that Sigerson studied diseases of the nervous system under him at a somewhat

later period. In advanced life he used to refer to Charcot more than to any of his teachers, and he paid back his debt to his master by translating his book on Nervous Diseases, with valuable notes of his own, in the New Sydenham Society Series. At this time the famous French zoologist, Milne Edwards, took a leading place in Natural Science, and the still more famous Claude Bernard in physiology, and Sigerson was deeply imbued with the spirit of their work. His studies in science and in medicine were conducted along the lines of these great masters. His outlook on Science was a French outlook; his attitude towards medicine was a French attitude. In other words he blended theory with actual practice, and applied theory to actual practice in a manner very different from that of the English or the Germans, who tend to dissociate the two things. It is almost certain that had Sigerson been attached—which he never was—to a large hospital, he would have been one of the outstanding physicians of these islands.

In 1865, after he had been for six years an M.D., he took his degree of M.Ch. in the Queen's University. His first appointment was in the Catholic University of Ireland. The minutes of the Medical Faculty show that his appointment to be lecturer in Botany was made in April, 1865, and his first lectures were delivered in the summer of that year. This was the beginning of his connection with the medical school of the University, which was to last in one way or another without a break for fifty-eight years.[1]

In 1881 the Royal University was founded, and in the following year most of the first appointments of Fellows and Examiners were made. These included the then teaching staffs of the Catholic University College, that is

[1] The Medical Faculty at this time consisted of the following:—Andrew Ellis, Surgery; Robert D. Lyons, Medicine; W. K. Sullivan (afterwards President of Queen's College, Cork, *clarum et venerabile nomen*), Chemistry; R. Cryan and T. Hayden (father of Professor Mary Hayden); F. B. Quinlan; J. A. Byrne; S. A. MacSweeny.

the Arts College in Stephen's Green and the Medical School in Cecilia Street. Sigerson was first appointed Examiner in Natural Science, and two years later, in 1884, he became Fellow and was made one of the special examiners for the Diploma in Mental Diseases. He remained a Fellow of the Royal University until that institution was replaced by the National University of Ireland in 1909, when he became Professor of Zoology, a post which he continued to fill until his retirement in 1923.

All through his career he must have been conscious of a divided allegiance between Science and Literature. As he lived and worked, he grew from strength to strength ; and Ireland, which was never out of his thoughts, became ever more and more his debtor. He was an early and continuous worker in the cause of an Irish National University. An article of his in the *North British Review* was quoted by Gladstone, and Dr. Coffey told me that the late President of Maynooth was convinced that another very able article of his in the same Review must have been written by Lord Acton. His research work in physiology and pathology was known and quoted by men like Prof. Senator of Vienna and Dr. Nothnagel of Berlin ; the latter in his book on Gehirnkrankheiten adopts Dr. Sigerson's classification. But he was better known in France, where Paul Bert, the physiologist, proposed him for the membership of the Clinical Society, Paris, and Charcot for the membership of the Society of Physiology and Psychology, and Henri Martin, the historian, for the membership of the Anthropological Society. Tyndall said that his researches revealed the true nature of organisms in the atmosphere whose presence he himself had detected, and Darwin proposed him for election as a Fellow of the Linnean Society.

One of the old '68 men, a great friend of the doctor's, said to me one day, in what must have been a moment of dyspepsia, " Sigerson is as vain as the devil." He

certainly had reason to be vain—but he was not. He was perfectly unobtrusive, and this was one of the finest traits in a most lovable character. Amongst his other scientific publications, as well as Microscopical Researches on the Atmosphere, was one on Heat as a factor in (so-called) Vital Action; the cause of buoyancy of bodies of greater gravity than water; the changes in the Physical Geography of Ireland; Additions to the Flora of the Tenth Botanical District; Note sur la Paralysie Vaso-motrice généralisée des membres supérieurs (Duchenne de Boulogne) in *Le Progrès Médicale*, 1874.[1]

But deeply interested as he was in science, his early love, I think, was literature, and he never neglected it to the day of his death. Nor can it be said of him that pure literature had more attraction for him at one period of his life than at another. In him his mind was so broad and his genius so varied, and the elements so kindly mixed, that Science, Economics, History, and Poetry all through his life appealed to him with almost equal force, though I have a suspicion that the appeal of poetry was the strongest.

As far back as 1860 we find him engaged upon his first literary effort and one that appealed to him with peculiar force. A dozen years previously John O'Daly had published a volume called "The Poets and Poetry of Munster," for which Clarence Mangan wrote the English translations in verse. Sigerson now proposed to take up the work of Mangan,[2] O'Daly no doubt supplying the

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[1] Other scientific treatises, besides his translation of Charcot's work, were:—On Alternate Paralysis (*Dublin Journal of Medical Science*, 1878), an Examination of certain Phenomena of Hystero-Epilepsy and Cerebral Anaesthetia (*Brit. Med. Jour.* 1879), Contribution to the Study of Nerve Action in connection with the Sense of Taste (*Proc. R.I.A.* 1879), The Need and Use of Village Hospitals in Ireland (a result of his work in the west where he went as Medical Commissioner to the Mansion House Committee—*Journal of Statistical Society*, 1884), Acquisitional and Structural Elements in Dextral Pre-eminence, Ambidexterity in primeval man, The Law and the Lunatic (*Jour. Stat. Society*, 1886), and probably others.

[2] He had the great satisfaction, in after years, of unveiling the present memorial in St. Stephen's Green to his fellow poet and predecessor.

texts. O'Daly was a fine Irish scholar of the old traditional type, and had acquired as a result of ceaseless searching a great number of Irish MSS. He had made an excellent collection of poetry out of these for Mangan. He now laid his collection before Sigerson, and between them they produced the "Second Series" of "The Poets and Poetry of Munster." Sigerson wrote his own preface and many of the notes, all interesting, and translations into English verse of 46 poems.

O'Daly was a curious personality. I knew him when I was a young student in College and used often to go into his little dingy bookshop in Anglesea Street to talk Irish to him. He was the only person I knew in Dublin, except O'Neill Russell, who could talk it. He used to sit behind a worn deal counter in his shop, with piles of books—mostly unsold volumes of the Ossianic Society[1]—running round his shelves and stacked up in all directions. He told me that it was at this counter, not sitting, but leaning or sprawled across it, that Clarence Mangan had made his translations from the Irish. O'Daly, as I understood from him, would supply a poem, translate it verbally, as Mangan knew little or no Irish, and Mangan then and there would throw this poem into English verses for him.[2] In Sigerson's case it is probable that O'Daly

[1] O'Daly's price for the last four volumes—now impossible to procure—was 10*s.*—2*s.* 6*d.* per volume!

[2] O'Daly is an Irishman who has hardly received his due meed of appreciation. He was Honorary Secretary of the Ossianic Society during its existence and published their works for them, contributing himself two of its volumes of Ossianic poems. He produced the two Series of the Poets and Poetry of Munster, and after this several smaller volumes. I always heard that he was a Kilkenny man, but he may have been from across the border in Waterford. I understood that some local trouble sent him to Dublin, and heard the word "souperism" mentioned in connection with it. But I have a verse by no less a man than Standish Hayes O'Grady addressed to O'Daly as follows—I found it in the pages of a book I bought. It is in O'Grady's own writing.

> A Seáġain ruilt uí Dálaċ, 'r a ṙuaḋ-ṙir óṁḋa,
> Náṁ cáineaġ a ngṁáin-beaṙt ó ṙuaiṁṙ beó-ġuṫ;
> Tá gṁáḋ aġam 'r ḃuṙ náiṙ ḋam gan ṙonn dá ċóṁaiṁṁiṁ
> Doḋ láiṁ ġlic do dáil ḋam gan ġṁuaim na ceoil-ṙuiṙc.
>
> Stoinnoiṙ Aoḋ O gṁáḋa.

Could Irishman ask a better testimonial?

first collected the MSS. and then placed them before Sigerson and submitted them to his judgment—than which there could not have been a better. He may also have got some of his pieces in the Royal Irish Academy. This fine collection of modern poetry, together with the O'Daly-Mangan volume, made in all an anthology of 108 poems. The publication of these volumes was an act of national significance, which at the time no one even suspected. The verse translations of both volumes are the least satisfying thing in them; but the poets were carrying out a convention, begun by Miss Brook and continued by Hardiman and Walsh, which seemed to demand with every Irish poem published a translation of some sort into English verse. Few, if any, of the English poems out of either volume are likely to find an abiding place in anthologies.

Sigerson dedicated this book "to my Father," but he does not write under his own name. Why was this? It is pretty certain that a volume of the kind, with its outspoken preface, would have been no good credential for a professional man about to set up in the Dublin of the sixties. He had the excellent taste to include no poem because of its melody only. He is very frank in his judgment on the everlasting Jacobite poetry; much of it, he says, is mere plagiarism, one imitating the other, only in different metres to suit different tunes. "The minor bards were too much attracted (like many of the present day) by smoothness of versification and fine sonorous words, and being able to produce such, many have had their lucubrations preserved which ought to have been cast away. Where the heart was the cause of the song the result, as this little volume will I hope show, is very different." At the conclusion of his preface he writes as follows:—"If the opinions I have expressed above and through the body of the work seem too favourable to these Celtic compositions as peasant-ballads, they cannot be attributed to a Celt's or Momonian's

partiality. For the translator is an Ulsterman and of Viking race, deriving from their publication no other gain than an increase of respect and love for the delicacy, devotion, and chivalry of a much-maligned people." These words alone are enough to show us that young Sigerson was already a student of Irish literature, for they seem borrowed almost directly from the passage in Keating's Díonbhrollach to his History of Ireland, in which he begs the reader not to ascribe anything he says to race-partiality, as he himself was not a Milesian at all but of the Anglo-Norman race, and wrote only because he saw the Irish so maligned.

It is probable that Sigerson from this time forward kept in view the publication of further translations from the Irish. I made his acquaintance when I was a student, and he used sometimes to read me a poem. I had the pleasure of dedicating my *Love Songs of Connacht* to him in 1894, thirty-four years after his own work had appeared, no translated book of Irish poetry having been published during that long interval. Three years later he produced his magnum opus the *Bards of the Gael and Gall*, which—*parvis componere magna*—he dedicated to Gavan Duffy and to myself as representing the Gael and Gall respectively. In this new book he gave us translations of 139 Irish poems, a long vista of bardic compositions, leading back and ever back, from the present into the dim remote almost mythological past. It was a splendid thought to take the reader by the hand and conduct him along a road the like of which could scarcely be travelled over in any other land in Europe. He begins with three lays of the Milesian Invaders and then goes on to the Cuchulainn period (about the time of Christ), then to the Finn period (about three centuries later), then to the Ossianic poems, then to poems of the " Christian Dawn " and the " Early Christian " pieces, then to poems of the Gael and Norse (this is perhaps the best section in the book), and after that to the " Gael and Norman," thence

into the 17th century, the 18th century, songs of the emotions, folk songs, and finally two paraphrases from the Gaelic.

In a long preface Dr. Sigerson sustains the interesting thesis, which he later on elaborated more fully in his *Sedulius*, that the early Irish poets who used Latin were more or less consciously making verse after Irish models, with end rhyme and an obvious tendency towards alliteration. This was always a pet theory of Dr. Sigerson's, but I do not think it can be substantiated, at least not in its entirety. If Sedulius wrote

A solis ortus cardine
Adusque terrae limitem

we cannot believe, as Sigerson believed, that the poet meant a rhyme or assonance between the unstressed syllables " -ine " and " -item," or when he wrote

Beatus auctor seculi
Servile corpus induit

the Latin poet surely did not mean the wholly unstressed *u* of " seculi " to rhyme with the equally unstressed " *u* " of " induit." It is on the " in- " and the " sec- " that the stress falls. He did not pronounce " induit " as rhyming with " he knew it." On the other hand I think that his editor appears to be justified in calling attention to the proneness to alliteration, and to the " Conachlon " of Ausonius as being possibly of Celtic origin. But when he thinks that Sedulius, a younger contemporary of St. Ambrose (A.D. 340-397), wrote in such wise that, without a knowledge of Irish metric, we cannot duly appreciate his verses, he is going too far. " The Golden Bough for us," says his editor, " is the Gaelic metric. Without some knowledge of this it is impossible to identify and understand the true character of Sedulian verse ; possessing this, it is impossible not to see and affirm that Sedulius

was a poet trained in the Irish methods."[1] But it is now sufficiently established that the Irish, although they were the first nation to use rhyme in their own language, and although they brought it to a pitch of perfection never dreamt of by other nations, did not themselves use it in the fourth, fifth, sixth, or possibly even the seventh century, and all the laws of Irish metric as expressed in the rules of Dán Díreach were of much later origin.

Between science and pure literature lay the great field of philanthropy and politics, and in this domain Sigerson was no less distinguished. He had, as quite a young man, been chosen along with T. D. Sullivan to present a magnificent sword of honour to General Patrick MacMahon destined to become the first President of the French Republic. This was in 1860, and we may read about it in Mitchel's *Jail Journal.* Sigerson had a great admiration for Mitchel, made him Paris Correspondent of the *Irishman,* and arranged for the publication of his *Last Conquest* (*Perhaps*) in serial form in the same paper. This was the weekly Journal to which Sigerson contributed so many excellent leading articles. The famous article "The Holocaust" written on the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, and published on November 23, 1867, immediately after the news reached Dublin, created something of a sensation. At this time and for some years before, he used to contribute poems and essays to many Irish publications, the *Nation,* the *Shamrock,* Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine,* and the *Irish People,* which last was the organ of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. I think the *Irishman,* before Pigott the forger got hold of it, was the paper to which he most contributed. I was told that at one time he was writing nearly all the leading articles for it.

I suppose that, with an ever-growing clientèle and the pressure of his University work, he gradually gave up

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[1] *The Easter Song of Sedulius,* p. 212.

ephemeral writing and interested himself in the bigger things of literature. He was appointed Medical Commissioner to the Dublin Mansion House Committee when Ireland was threatened with a famine, and typhus broke out over the West in 1879-80. He and the late Dr. Kenny made a minute tour of the districts affected, chiefly Mayo. One incident of his procedure I heard which will show the common-sense, if rather rough-and-ready way in which he met difficult situations. A young man was lying a helpless cripple on a bed which he had not left for six years. Sigerson immediately suspected that it was a case of nerves. The house was full of people, and a big fire blazed on the hearth. In this fire, with much ceremony and to the great amazement of the company, he heated a plough-share that he found lying on the floor until it became white-hot. He then caused the young man to be laid face downward on the bed and all the bed-clothes taken off. He next drove every one out of the house, seized the white-hot coulter from the fire, and with furious air and gesture ran at the young man, and before he could move inflicted as quick as lightning half a dozen pricks of the hot iron up his spine. The patient uttered one frantic howl, leapt off the bed, burst out through the door, and tore away at full speed. Sigerson came back to the same place some years afterwards and found him happily married with a large family. His diagnosis had been correct. It was as a result of his experiences on this tour that he wrote his tract on *The Need and Use of Village Hospitals.*

Three years later he was appointed a member of Lord Spencer's Royal Commission on Prisons. As a result of his labours many improvements were made in the dietary and treatment of prisoners of weak intellect. Reforms inaugurated by him were afterwards, I have been told, adopted largely in England. It was, no doubt, his experiences on this Commission which prompted him to compose his valuable work on political prisoners which

appeared in 1890. In this volume he compares the different treatment of different classes of prisoners in the various European countries, and shows that England stood alone in her savage treatment of political misdemeanants.

The land question, which, to many at the time, seemed *the* Irish question, had already claimed his attention, and he had as early as 1871 published the *History of Land Tenures and Land Classes in Ireland*, the proofs of which were read by Mr. Gladstone, and that statesman found the knowledge he derived from them very useful when introducing his Irish Land legislation; Lecky also quoted it with approval.

In 1891 or 1892 the National Literary Society was founded. The present writer was the first President of it, and his opening lecture was on the necessity of De-anglicisation. But he resigned when the Gaelic League was founded in 1893, and Dr. Sigerson became President and presided over its fortunes until his death. During these many years he poured forth in his presidential addresses a stream of interesting knowledge upon the most varied subjects—all however connected with Ireland—which when we look back upon it almost takes our breath away. His minute knowledge of the most out-of-the-way facts and the most abstruse problems of history was marvellous. Where did he get it all? He never had many books about him; I hardly ever saw him reading, and yet he knew or seemed to know everything—at least everything connected with Ireland. He was often urged to put the erudition contained in these lectures into a book or books, and I imagine that he intended to do so, if he had lived longer. A friend told me he had seen a letter from Lord Acton, in which he described Sigerson as "the best Irishman I have ever known," and I believe he pressed him to collaborate with him in his *Cambridge Modern History*. It was Sigerson who wrote for Barry O'Brien's *Two Centuries of Irish History* the chapter

(110 close pages) which deals with the eighteen years which elapsed between the grant of Legislative Independence in 1782 and the Act of Union in 1800, and his presentation of the story is masterly. The first edition of this book appeared in 1888. Thirty years afterwards he elaborated this chapter in the volume called *The Last Independent Parliament of Ireland*, and his Appendix contains many interesting facts relative to the condition of our fisheries, kelp-making, the bounty system, the curing of fish, the export of fish, the probity of Irish merchants, their enterprise, the Irish salt duties and salt policy, and other matters, all well documented and showing the amazing advances made under a native parliament.

His poem of King Lir written in blank verse, which he published in 1913 as a separate slender volume, is not, in my opinion, a success. There are in it some fine lines, but a great deal that is unequal, and the whole story of the life of the Swans themselves is omitted. His next poem, the translation of Sedulius, is a very ambitious work. For years he was taken up with the thought of it, and its completion gave him great satisfaction. A long preface sets forth the author's theories on metric to which I have already alluded, but contains also much interesting historical matter. Then follows, on a unique principle which I do not remember to have seen carried out before, a rhymed metrical translation of the best passages in the Easter Hymn, none being longer than a couple of pages, while he compresses into a prose résumé in smaller print the long stretches of rather blank hexameters that connect one chosen passage with another. He comments freely and in entertaining manner on his text, as he goes, showing how Sedulius must have had a medical training, must have been familiar with fly-fishing, etc. The poem itself as versified and compressed into prose fills only 60 pages; the rest of the volume (210 pages) is taken up with the preface and the appendices,

in which, amongst other things, he shows how much Milton was indebted to his hero.[1]

My personal recollections of Dr. Sigerson date back to my college days. I first saw him with old John O'Leary, to whom he was exceedingly kind, as he was to all who had worked or suffered for Ireland. On the strength of having seen him with O'Leary I plucked up courage and spoke to him one day. He looked hard at me in a very chilling, in fact intimidating manner and said: "You have the advantage of me"; but when I told him I had met him with O'Leary he at once thawed and became friendly, and I flatter myself that I never lost his friendship. Not only was he interested in the Irish language, but also in Irish music. He was one of the founders of the Feis Ceóil. He was interested enough in athletics to give a cup for inter-collegiate competition. His chief relaxation and hobby seemed to be the search for miniatures. His extraordinary and unique collection of Napoleonic and other French miniatures was exhibited for a long time in the National Museum and attracted great attention. Pictures of French *grandes dames* and French *objets d' art* appealed to him strongly. He used to go to the continent almost every summer and never came back without something new. His house was full up of valuable antiques. He was very sociable and loved to have people to dinner on Sundays. Goethe's words,

Tages Arbeit, Abends Gäste,
Saure Wochen frohe Feste,

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[1]The following is a specimen of his Versification. It describes Our Lord's visiting the Ruler of the Synagogue whose daughter was sick:—

He reached the Wailing Walls, the House of Sighs
Where smote by doom the death-pale maiden lies.
A trembling tumult ululates, of groans
And bitter cries, the flute funerial sounds
In weeping dirge, and frequent sound on sound
Of lamentable blows the place confound.

Then follows a prose commentary. "This," says Sigerson, "is a marvellously exact description of the Irish *caoine*, the wailing dirge, with beating together of hands and mournful music."

seemed to have been his *Zauberwort* also. He certainly worked hard throughout the week. His ante-room was always full of patients, and he continued seeing them until a late hour. I have heard of many wonderful cures he performed on patients affected with nerve-trouble. He was not in the least desirous of money. I think he never accepted it from many of his poorer clients. I imagine that he was very careless about it. I once sent him a cheque; but it was, so far as I could see, never cashed. I heard other people say the same thing. He was always only too willing and even eager to prescribe gratis for his friends, if he thought he could do them any good. In this generosity of his he was perhaps following a family tradition, for Francis Sigerson of Kerry is still locally referred to as "Proinsias Críona do dhíolach déirc in a thigh," and a well-known poem still repeated near Ballinskelligs refers to him as a "Biatach" or hospitaller whose fame was sufficient for the whole of Munster, to whose house the Earl (of Kenmare?) used to resort.[1]

I think he must have done all his literary work late at night, and that he seldom went to bed until near morning. It is fascinating to contemplate his long life as a continuous whole and to think of all the immense changes that have taken place, in almost every one of which he himself bore a hand; the settling of the land question, the establishment of a National University, the recognition of Irish as the National language, the withdrawal of the English. All these things he worked for, and he saw all of them come to pass. It must have seemed

[1]Mr. Delargy took down this by word of mouth near Ballinskelligs, last year :—

Sa mainirtin fiar, fé eág, fé clúid, fé leac,
Tá'n macaċ 'r a' briataċ mam fuain clú agus mear.
Da minic an t-iarla a' triall air, a'r fluaġ 'na teaċt (*sic*)
Le clú do miar fé iarċar Mumhan ar fad.

I had copied out this same poem for Sigerson from a MS. in the R.I.A., but it is interesting to find that it is still remembered and repeated. The name Sigerson is pronounced in Kerry as Ségerron—Say-gur-son.

to him almost a miracle when he looked back on the days of his youth and thought of the time when it was wise to refrain from putting his name on the title-page of an Irish book of national tendency.

He either was, or pretended to be, inordinately proud of his Norse ancestry. I think that even his best friends did not quite know how far he was in jest about this or how far he was in earnest. He always resented or pretended to resent any implied slur upon the Norsemen, whom he credited with all the virtues. He certainly looked, himself, like an ancient Viking from a Norwegian fiord, and I have been told that in his youth his hair was really red, though it was not so in my time. He had a very keen sense of humour, but was never unkind. Having once heard me deliver what I suppose must have been an indiscreet lecture, sometime after the Parnell split, when it was difficult not to say something to offend somebody, he told me that I reminded him of a little boy running round a garden and shaking each several beehive as I passed along—just to see how many bees would come out and buzz! As a poet he was best as a lyrist. When the late T. W. Rolleston and his father-in-law, Stopford Brooke, brought out their *Treasury of Irish Poetry in the English Tongue*, they commissioned me to get some poems from Sigerson. It was then I discovered for the first time how sweet and how original a lyrist he was. I sat up with him one night until four o'clock, and he read me a great number of original lyrics, four or five of which entranced me. I picked out three original songs for Rolleston's book, "The Swans of Lir," "The Rowan Tree," and "Far-away," but the editors preferred translations from the Irish and only printed the last one. Where are the others, where are all the poems he read to me that night? I hope sincerely that they are not lost. Lest I be accused of exaggerating his lyric gift, I shall conclude this article by quoting just two verses from the only one of all those pieces that was, so far as I know, saved and printed.

FAR-AWAY

As chimes that flow o'er shining seas
When Morn alights on meads of May,[1]
Faint voices fill the Western breeze
With whisp'ring songs from far-away.
Oh, dear the dells of Dunanore,
And bright is billowy Ballintrae ;[2]
But sweet as honey, running o'er,
The Golden Shore of Far-Away.

There grows the tree whose summer breath
Perfumes with Joy the azure air ;
And he who feels it fears not Death,
Nor longer heeds the hounds of care.
Oh, soft the skies of Seskinore,
And mild is meadowy Melleray ;
But sweet as honey, running o'er,
The Golden Shore of Far-Away.

He came to see me take my seat in the Senate about ten days before his death, and his last words to me, after listening to the discussion for a while, were : " This is good work, you know, careful work, sound work." He died in his ninetieth year in the full enjoyment of his faculties, and Ireland will not forget him and cannot replace him.

AN CRAOIBÍN.

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[1]Note the alliteration. He was very fond of this, but never overdoes or obtrudes it. I noticed it particularly in the lyrics he read to me that night.

[2]This line is taken from the third stanza.

M. HERRIOT AND THE CHURCH

BY DENIS GWYNN

WHILE the political situation in France remains so unstable, even though M. Herriot has outlasted his own expectations by surviving as Premier beyond the beginning of January, it is difficult to form definite opinions as to the probable outcome of the present tension between the French Government and the Church. M. Herriot may fall from power almost without warning, but there is little doubt as to the forces which must determine the policy of his successor in office. If he falls, even though it may be as the direct result of conflict over the question of relations with the Church, there can be no likelihood of the return of a Conservative Government to power. The new Chamber of Deputies contains a majority definitely pledged to the programme of the Left, and even if M. Herriot is unable to retain his present precarious position as leader in the Chamber, the Left majority will find someone else whose general attitude is very similar to his. The dominating issue in all French politics at present is the desire of the people to obtain a stable settlement of the Peace and to secure some mitigation of the high cost of living. A great change has come over French opinion since M. Poincaré exercised unchallenged supremacy. The country has reacted fast from the ultra-patriotic mood which lasted almost until a year ago. Realisation of France's isolation among the Allies, and of the apparently unending vista of military coercion which the Poincaré policy involved, has concentrated men's thoughts upon finding some means of peaceful settlement.

M. Herriot's foreign policy undoubtedly offers a better prospect of peace, and the problems of peace and

of the high cost of living at present dominate public opinion in France almost to the exclusion of all other questions. Unfortunately the parties who have accepted M. Herriot as their leader are intensely Republican in the old sense of being anti-religious as well. And it is the misfortune of the Catholics in France that, while the proportion of practising Catholics is certainly not more than one third of the entire population, the Catholic population itself is chiefly concentrated in certain local areas. Hence the Catholic influence in the greater part of France is scarcely a formidable force, even though in Brittany and the Pyrenees, in Alsace-Lorraine and a few other parts of the country, it is very powerful. In large tracts of France it is scarcely even an effective force at all. The new French Government is therefore counting largely upon the indifference of the mass of public opinion in most parts of the country towards all questions affecting the Church. Its policy has been to excite the Catholics into a violent agitation of protest, without giving any flagrant cause for open revolt, in the belief that the mass of the people will in this way come to regard the Catholics as turbulent people bent upon overthrowing a government which relies for its popularity on the two matters which concern the country most urgently and most directly—a settlement with Germany, and the high cost of living.

The government has been closely watching the development of the Catholic campaign of revolt which it has itself provoked, and is by no means dissatisfied with its rapid gathering of momentum. It has been waiting for the Catholics to show the full extent of their available support, actually encouraging the movement to gather strength, in the belief that it will dissipate its energies through having no immediate objective to attack, and that it will soon produce a feeling of revulsion among the mass of the people, who in most parts of France are at best benevolently neutral towards the Church. Individual Ministers have been administering judicious pin-

pricks from time to time to inflame excitement. Thus, M. François Albert, Minister for Education, let himself go in a violent tirade against the Jesuits and went out of his way to attack Mgr. Cerretti, the Papal Nuncio in Paris, for having said things which he never actually said. The Nuncio protested at once to M. Herriot, and he explained away the incident with suitable apologies; but it helped the general purpose of provoking the Catholics into renewed outbursts. It gave a new impetus to the National Catholic Federation which General de Castelnau had launched a few days before. M. Chautemps, the Minister for the Interior, has been personally responsible for organising the inquiry into the religious communities, to find out whether any have returned to France who can be legally expelled again without notice, and whether the statutory maximum of priests or nuns or novices in each authorised establishment has been exceeded.

It is this inquiry more than anything else that has given the immediate cause for protest meetings and demonstrations in all parts of the country. It was met almost at once by a concerted movement of passive resistance. Bishops all over the country, especially in Brittany, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and at Rodez (the personal stronghold of General de Castelnau) lost no time in summoning meetings of all the heads of their religious communities, and issuing definite instructions to them to refuse all information when questions were asked. This naturally led to furious denunciations of the Catholics in the Socialist and Radical press, on the ground that they were defying the law; while the Catholic spokesmen on their side have become more and more defiant in their language as the success of their resistance became evident. The inquiry itself soon degenerated into a farce. It has been conducted by the most miscellaneous collection of agents, some of them belonging to the staffs of prefects and sub-prefects, others

being employees of the local mayor (though in some cases the mayors have sent insulting letters to the prefects and have taken an active part in organising the passive resistance to the whole inquiry). In other cases it was members of the police, or even of the fire brigades, who have been sent round to convents and schools and hospitals to use whatever tact they could in putting questions which they knew beforehand would not be answered. The Government, realising its failure, has striven to represent the Catholic opposition as being proof of disloyalty to the Republic : thus reviving the old accusations of disloyalty on the part of the Church which were silenced by the patriotic example shown by the clergy during the war.

M. François Albert and M. Chautemps have delivered many provocative speeches about this Catholic resistance. They of course interpret it as an admission by the Catholics that the pre-war legislation against the religious orders (which supporters of the present Government always describe as the "inviolable laws of the Republic") is in fact being violated all over France. There is of course no doubt that such violations of the law have been and are still very widespread. Many religious communities which made their way back to France to do war work have remained, with the general approval of their neighbours. Many other communities whose numbers were strictly limited by law have since increased their establishments. These facts are well known and undisputed. Indeed the *Echo de Paris*, which is the most powerful organ of the Catholic resistance and in particular of General de Castelnau, has adopted as its main line of defence the plea that these religious communities have been doing such good work, since they came back during the war, that it is now monstrous to interfere with them. Its religious correspondent, M. Charles Pichon, has compiled a series of very eloquent tributes to their work in the course of a full and frank investigation of their

return. Catholic Academicians like M. Henri Bordeaux and M. René Bazin have written a great deal in the same strain, to urge the necessity of leaving them in peace to carry on the good work which they have been doing.

Apart from this general stimulation of ill-feeling through the official inquiry into the religious communities, it cannot be said that there have been many actual incidents of direct insult or interference. The Catholic press has been vigilantly recording every detail of the kind, however small; but in most cases its complaints have been only of the more or less sentimental outrage involved in sending agents to make inquiries in cloistered convents, or in hospitals where the nuns have sometimes been conducting the hospital work for the military garrisons as well as for the civilian population. Most often indeed the mothers superior seem to have had the best of the argument in these encounters with shy officials carrying out their very invidious duties. There have, however, been a few notable instances of deliberate provocation. One Prefect, for instance, refused to allow the St. Vincent de Paul Society to hold its Annual Charity Bazaar for the benefit of the poor. And in Montauban, where the Prefect has for some years refused to allow a religious procession through the streets on All Souls' Day, his refusal this year led to a dramatic event. The bishop and his clergy, on emerging from the Cathedral after the solemn ceremonies of the day, suddenly threw off their religious vestments and confronted the police inspector in their everyday clothes. They demanded the right to use the public highway, and while the inspector was wondering how to deal with this unexpected development, the crowd pushed their way past the cordon of police and marched on in military formation to the cemetery, where they recited the prayers for the dead. The bishop and several of his supporters had to appear in court on a charge of breach of the peace, and the bishop was actually fined 15 francs. There have been other

incidents also, all of which have been eagerly noted and made use of by the National Catholic Federation in its long series of monster demonstrations up and down the country. Thus, two Jesuit Professors have been dismissed from a college in Mayence ; the Chaplain-General to the Naval College was not allowed to accompany the naval cadets last year during their summer cruise, and the Training College for the naval divisions in the Levant and the Mediterranean has dispensed with the services of its Naval Chaplain.

But the chief storm centre, ever since the Herriot Government was formed, has been Alsace-Lorraine ; and the storm has raged most fiercely around the virile personality of Mgr. Ruch, the bishop of Strasbourg. The elections of May were scarcely over when the anti-Catholic leaders in Alsace and Lorraine began to proclaim the advent of a new régime, which would put an end to the Concordat now governing the religious affairs of the recovered provinces. Mgr. Ruch took the opportunity presented by the national congress of the Catholic Young Men's Association being held in his city, to issue a solemn warning to his flock. He pointed to the danger of an attempt to upset the " transitional " arrangement under which Alsace and Lorraine have since the Armistice been allowed to retain religious education in the State schools and to live under the old Concordat with Rome. Ten days later M. Herriot made his formal declaration of policy, stating his belief that the people of Alsace-Lorraine desire in their hearts to conform to the legislation in force in all other parts of France, and announcing his early intention to introduce measures which would apply the whole legal system of the Republic to Alsace and Lorraine. The controversy began to rage at once. The three religious denominations, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, have for years enjoyed their separate rights to denominational schools in which religious teaching is regularly given ; and they at once combined in vehement

protest against any infringement of their liberties. The Catholics all over France, realising how much general sympathy could be aroused in support of any grievance felt by the recovered provinces, mobilised all their forces in defence of the *status quo*. Mass meetings have been summoned and held in every department to express sympathy with the Catholics of Alsace and Lorraine. The agitation reached its climax in the debate in the Chamber of Deputies at the end of January, and Mgr. Ruch, who has been tireless in organising the Catholic resistance, issued on January 28, a full reply to M. Herriot's accusations. The gist of his long reply is contained in the statement :

> I am a Minister of the Church and a servant of France. An aider and abettor of the machinations of the Grand Orient I will never be, even by keeping silence. No one can challenge my right to act as I have acted. As a Bishop of Alsace appointed under the Concordat, I respect the laws which determine the status of religion in my diocese. To love, venerate, and defend the existing law, even when the Freemasons have sworn to destroy it, is to play the part not of a rebel but of a free citizen.

This debate on the Foreign Office vote brought to a head the whole controversy about the Government's attitude toward Alsace and Lorraine and towards the Vatican. M. Briand, in the first important speech he has made in the Chamber since he fell from power at the Cannes Conference, gave an extremely effective summary of the reasons which had led him to restore diplomatic relation with the Vatican in 1921. He asked the Government to consider the result of severing the connection which the last Chamber regarded as essential in the diplomatic interests of France. What will happen, he asked, in cases where the Holy See has a voice in determining certain political matters ? What is the French Prime Minister to do when his experts tell him that there are difficulties in the way ? Is he to go on repeating that there must be no more contact between the French Government and the Church, that there must be this

terrible isolation of France, "this silence of the grave." The Government rapporteur here interrupted M. Briand by exclaiming "No"; to which M. Briand replied: "How can you say no? To whom are the experts to address themselves in such cases? They will either have to make use of other intermediaries or else employ indirect and clandestine methods unworthy of a great country. Wherever France has interests to protect, there she ought to be directly represented." He insisted once again on how many countries have their diplomatic establishments at the Vatican. He had seen Mr. Austen Chamberlain (who is "anything but a Papist") going to call on the Pope when they were in Rome together quite recently for the League of Nations Council. He recalled the intervention of the Apostolic Delegate in Constantinople to obtain the re-opening of the French schools in the East. Our schools there would still be closed now, declared M. Briand, if there had not been direct channels of communication between the Turkish Government and the Vatican. More than that, if France withdraws from the Vatican now it will be at the moment when the United States, Japan and Brazil, each of whom has interests conflicting with those of France, are taking steps to establish relations with the Pope.

Against these obvious considerations, which undoubtedly are appreciated by the mass of the people all over France, what in effect was the answer of M. Herriot? Briefly, his reply consisted first in a reiteration of the abstract principle that the Church and the State must be kept absolutely apart, and secondly in contesting the political expediency of having relations with the Vatican. M. Oberkirch, one of the most active of the Alsatian deputies, pointed out in the debate that the political situation in Alsace and Lorraine makes it necessary to retain the French Embassy at the Vatican. His argument is that when the Provinces were recovered from Germany after the Armistice, they reverted automatically to the system

under which they were administered before they were taken from France in 1871. In other words they revert to the old system of the Concordat, which in so far as Alsace-Lorraine was concerned has never been abrogated. This complicated situation has now been admitted by M. Herriot, with the result that although France herself is no longer to be represented at the Holy See, the Government has agreed to retain a special delegate at the Vatican to represent Alsace and Lorraine.

But M. Herriot coupled this announcement with a statement that he intends to bring Alsace and Lorraine as far as possible into conformity with the Administration of Republican France. Hence, the exiguous link between Alsace-Lorraine and the Vatican is to be retained only under protest, until M. Herriot has succeeded in persuading a majority of its people to abandon their claims to separate treatment. M. François, another Alsation deputy, challenged M. Herriot by saying that so long as Alsace remains under the threat of his Ministerial declarations it will preserve its present attitude of hostility, adding that Alsace does not fail to distinguish between France and the present French Government. To this M. Herriot replied hotly that he likewise discriminates between the real desire of Alsace-Lorraine and those who are organising this struggle against the Republic; which provoked M. Oberkirch to an indignant protest that the Government has split Alsace into two camps. He taunted the Government with having promised to respect the existing status of Alsace-Lorraine when it had every intention of violating its pledges. But M. Herriot's last word in this, as in every other phase of the controversy, is to ask: "What has the Government actually done that you can complain of? Has it even taken any action to prevent this violent campaign against the Government? Yet the Bishop of Strasbourg has ordered every priest in his diocese to recite a special prayer in the Churches *contra persecutores Ecclesiae*."

M. Herriot is, generally speaking, a typical exponent of the theories of Republican Radicalism. But the responsibilities of office compel the most irreconcilable of politicians to moderate their views, to make as few real changes as possible. It is the extremists of every party who force the pace and keep the political leaders up to the mark. It is therefore worth while noting the very dexterous replies of the *Ere Nouvelle* to M. Briand's defence of the Vatican policy. It describes his defence briefly as being "a doctrine of the Universal Presence. He declares that we must be officially represented at the headquarters of the three great international centres in the world—the revolutionary Internationale at Moscow, the Internationale of Islam at Constantinople, and the Internationale of the Church at Rome." From the strictly diplomatic point of view it can see no answer to this argument; but in practice it considers that the diplomatic relations have meant for the Vatican the creation of a new political headquarters in France, but for France a purely decorative and ineffective connection.

We say with regret [writes this official organ of the *Bloc des Gauches*] that from the day that M. Jonnart threw himself at the feet of the Holy Father, the Vatican has striven by every means at its command to bring the Republic of France under its domination. A minority in this country, active and truculent it is true, has been preparing for civil war under the pretext of defending honourable convictions. We do not deny that it would be of advantage to us if we could, without restricting our own liberty in any way, overhear everything that is whispered in those sacred precincts where diplomacy is so much more constantly discussed than is religion. But can we admit that an ambassador's duties consist solely in listening to whatever he can overhear? Are there not occasions when he must assert his own voice as well? The question of our Embassy to the Vatican involves also the question of the Vatican's Envoy here. And the Papal Nuncio has an active part to play, which he has certainly been playing with dexterity and tact. But from his activities events have arisen which have been of great importance to the Holy See. While Mgr. Cerretti's friends in this country have been demanding that the laws of the Republic should be repealed, M. Doulcet has done no more than ask for

audiences with the Pope. The theory of being represented everywhere at the same time is admirable, but in the case of the Vatican it means in practice that the representative of the Pope in Paris is present as an active agent inspiring other people, while the Republic's representative at the Holy See is there simply as a passive observer.

That is, in concise form, the gist of M. Herriot's own reply. Space does not allow of any detailed examination of his specific allegations against the Vatican policy. Nor do they represent the main issue.

The real case against maintaining relations with the Holy See, upon which M. Herriot counted, with confidence, that he could carry the mass of indifferent public opinion, was this insinuation that the Papal Envoy has been employed by the Pope as a political organiser among the Catholics of France. This accusation appears again and again in all the Government newspapers, and is repeated day after day in political speeches. But whether Mgr. Ceretti can be held directly responsible or not, the Radicals and Socialists are now confident that sufficient prejudice has been generated against the Church to involve Mgr. Cerretti and his office in the general charge of political conspiracy. There is in fact no difficulty in finding speeches and pronouncements by the leaders of the Catholic resistance which quite openly declare the intention of defying the law if M. Herriot enforces it. The Catholic leaders of France would seem indeed to be playing a very dangerous game. They are not in the strong position of Mgr. Ruch who defies the Government to alter the existing régime against the wishes of the people in Alsace. The French Catholics are defying laws which already exist, however unjust they may be. To them M. Herriot retorts that they are a minority in the country as well as in the Chamber of Deputies, and that it is their duty to obey the laws passed by previous Parliaments, and his duty to enforce those laws. They are under the great disadvantage of threatening to resist with violence laws which have long been on the statute book and which were until a few years ago in actual operation.

There has been no mincing of words on the part of the French hierarchy. Its most important members have been the most conspicuous in using the language of open defiance. Cardinal Charost, for instance, now Primate of Brittany, went to address a protest meeting in the diocese of Lille, where he was appointed Bishop before the war and where he lived more or less as a hostage under the German occupation, becoming a national hero through his spirited resistance to the Germans. The Cardinal is presenting the same resistance to his own Government now. "The Church is devoted to peace," he declares. "The Church is our Mother, and like all mothers she abhors every sort of war. But she will never bow her head in ignominy, not even before the fetish of legality. It is quite true that we are obliged to respect the law, but always on condition that the law itself respects justice." The Archbishop of Toulouse, in writing to express his own agreement with the formal letter of protest addressed by the six French Cardinals to M. Herriot, said: "The Catholics will be in no doubt as to their duty, and let there be no mistake, they will defend themselves if they are attacked, without flinching and with all the zeal that is demanded for the triumph of their just cause. Should this happen it is upon the authors of this persecution and upon them alone that the responsibility must rest for the tragic consequences which will befall our country." Cardinal Andrieu, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, in addressing a Congress of the Catholic Railwaymen's Unions, made special reference to the threatened interference with religious rights in Alsace-Lorraine and said: "If the Governing Sect of the Freemasons should dare to embark upon strife with our heroic brothers in Alsace and Lorraine, we are one and all prepared to fight by their side. And in defending their rights we shall not lose sight of the rights of the other provinces of France. We are ready to fight and to die with them if need be, happy and proud to demon-

strate once again to Europe and to all the world that those causes alone are immortal for which men are willing to die." The Archbishop of Aix declared recently that he had assembled all the superiors of communities in his diocese and given them his instructions. After giving them, he continues, "I made a request of them all, which was this—If anyone comes to seal up your doors, do not break the seals without me. I want to break them myself."

These are only a few random extracts from hundreds of such speeches. They convey only a faint echo of the flood of oratory that has been let loose at monster meetings, frequently attended by ten or twenty thousand people, in every part of the country, where deputies and bishops and ex-soldier priests have declared in unmistakable language, through loud-speakers reaching to every corner of the market places, that they will not yield one inch of the ground they actually hold. Gradually, as this oratorical campaign has increased in vehemence, the Catholic leaders have begun to put forward much more ambitious claims than those with which they began. The first speeches were all concerned with the impending attack upon the religious liberties of Alsace and Lorraine. Then they dealt also with the intention to break off relations with the Vatican. Later they found a new field for denunciation in attacking the inquisition directed against the religious orders. And as the attendance at the public meetings swelled, as the National Catholic Federation came into being and the Catholic spokesmen became conscious of addressing a national audience, their daring increased. The resolutions passed with acclamation by conferences and public gatherings came to embrace much wider subjects. They are no longer concerned mainly with resistance to threats which may or may not materialise. The defensive campaign has developed, under the martial leadership of General de Castelnau, into a vigorous counter-attack which appeals strongly

to the spirit of so many Catholic soldiers and priests who served in the ranks during the war. They are now openly demanding a general repeal of the anti-Catholic laws which M. Herriot is seeking to enforce, and not only the laws against the religious Orders but others, such as the divorce law, which the Catholics have always denounced.

A typical instance of this rapid development from resistance to the threat of interference into a vigorous counter offensive against the pre-war legislation is shown by the recent action of the Bishop of Nantes. He instructed all the clergy in his diocese to read in the Churches the Manifesto issued by Cardinal Charost and the eleven Bishops associated with him as patrons of the Catholic University of Angers. The document is as follows :

In their annual assembly on November 18, 1924, the Bishops who are patrons of the Catholic University of the West demand that the programme of religious defence should set forth the following claims :—Abrogation of the so-called *lois laiques*, particularly the Law of Separation, which shuts out God from the State ; the Law of Undenominational Education, which shuts God out of all teaching in the schools ; the Law of Divorce, which is contrary to the Divine law and is a cause of ruin to the family and to the nation ; the Law of Proscription, which places the religious Orders outside the pale of the common law and forbids them to teach. The Bishops associate themselves also with the claims of Alsace and Lorraine, which have been guaranteed by the official and reiterated promises of the Government of France.

Many of the new year's pastoral letters by the French Bishops contain similar passages. Thus the Bishop of Autun :

The Catholics are no longer content to accept a humiliating position, to be treated as pariahs in the family of France. Since the only peace that we can hope to win is through strife, strife we must face. It is a sign of progress that Catholics are no longer afraid of the struggle and that they now undertake it valiantly. They are no longer content with mere self-defence. They are determined to win back their old liberties that were stolen from

them, the rights that they lost, and to re-model our laws on Christian principles.

Not all the Bishops speak in this vigorously combative strain. Others emphasise the difficulties of the long uphill task that has to be faced. But there is a general feeling (as the Bishop of St. Brieuc in Brittany says in tribute to the Bishop of Annecy in the south-east) that the religious persecution would have been in full blast already had not the Catholic leaders adopted this attitude of bold defiance. It is probable indeed that, without such brave defiance, the Catholic forces could not have been so quickly organised on a national scale. There would have been less exuberant and virile enthusiasm. The critical question now is whether M. Herriot will be able to carry out his intentions and override all this organised resistance, or whether it is in fact too strong for the administrative machine to overcome throughout the country; whether the Government will be able to goad the Catholic leaders into such excesses of defiance that public sympathy will be definitely estranged from their side and will support M. Herriot in a determined effort to suppress the Catholic opposition with a strong hand.

DENIS GWYNN.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE IRELAND OF 1825

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REVIEWING at considerable length, in the *Berliner Jahrbuch*, Prince Pückler-Muskau's *Letters on a Tour in Ireland*, 1828–1829, Goethe commended very specially this Prussian nobleman's clear insight into the character of the Irish people, and of their national leader, as shown in the great movement then reaching its climax. Far from friendly to the religious convictions of our people, the Lutheran traveller was struck by the power that people showed to "organise for one determinate end," by "intellectual means, the simple weapons of public discussion and the press." "Taken in a body," he declared, "they unite the frank honesty and poetical temper of the Germans, the vivacity of the French, and the naturalness of the Italians." O'Connell, visited in Kerry, was found by Prince Pückler-Muskau to be "much more like a general of Napoleon's army than a Dublin advocate," and to have "a considerable education, European in its interests, apart from his professional skill." To his remarks on the organisation of the Catholic Association, the Prussian traveller appended, in one of his rare footnotes, this finding: "All the Catholic children in Ireland are carefully instructed, and can at least read, while the Protestant children are often utterly ignorant." The educational conditions of the Irish people, which enabled them in the three years 1823–1825, to create and perfect a national political force entirely new in the civilised world, deserve some investigation. It so happens that just a hundred years ago an educational census of the whole people—the first census of its kind in Europe—was completed here in Ireland. This was in the winter

of 1824–25. In the spring of 1825 the popular organisation, the Catholic Association, was suppressed by law enacted at Westminster.

The circumstances of that suppression are a further reason for considering the education of a people who could thus act as the leaders of Europe in creating "a universal organisation for one determinate end," an organisation which was suppressed because it was at once legal, absolutely novel, and thoroughly effective. "The real difficulty," wrote Sir Robert Peel in his *Memoirs*, "was not violation of the law, but in the novel exercise of constitutional franchises, in the application of powers recognised and protected by law—the power of speech, the power of meeting, the systematic application of these powers to one specific purpose—that is, the organisation of a force which professed to be a moral force, but had for its purpose to acquire a strength which might ultimately render irresistible the demand for civic equality." When moving the second reading of the Emancipation Bill, 1829, Peel expressly avowed that he was "resigning the struggle" against it, yielding to "a moral necessity which I cannot control," imposed by "the multitude and physical strength" of the Irish people. They were forthwith deprived of the votes secured in 1793, because these votes were in 1828 exercised with educational and intellectual skill, "systematically applied to one specific purpose." The organised ability of the whole Irish people was, in fact, described in almost identical terms by Sir Robert Peel and by Prince Pückler-Muskau.

It was a political portent, an absolute novelty in Europe. No English statesman had ever contemplated such organised popular action as possible in England or elsewhere. William Conyngham Plunket, Attorney-General in Ireland, spoke of it at Westminster as "not illegal in the strict sense, but directly opposed to the spirit of the British Constitution." "I deny," he said,

" that any portion of the subjects of this realm have a right to select persons to speak their sentiments, to debate their grievances, to devise means for their removal " —unless the persons selected are the members of the Parliament at Westminster. In a word, the English people and their statesman had then, in 1825, no concept of that organised popular action which has since 1829 become the ordinary method of European politics. They were educated into this " novel exercise " (as Peel called it) of political power, by the example of Ireland in 1823–1825. Ireland led the way, even when just emerging from the dark night of the Penal Law period, in showing how the weapon of democratic " organisation for a specific purpose " could be forged and perfected. The lesson was taken up, slowly and imperfectly enough, by the English people and by the national masses of Europe. The Irish example of how to do it was in no way preceded by the France of 1789–1815, nor by the America of 1770–1815. The French Revolution was devised by the propertied middle classes, and was based on that detestation of democracy in which Jansenism and infidel philosophy united. The American Revolution was mainly directed by an aristocratic caste of slaveholders, whose grip tightened in the twenty years that also saw the consolidation of Imperialism in France. Democratic and civic action did not appear in the modern world till the Irish people organised in 1823–1825. Without good and widespread development of education such political organisation, rapid, effective, novel, carried on despite specially restrictive laws, could never have been achieved.

The census of scholars in the autumn of 1824, showed the vast extent of that popular education movement in Ireland. It was so thorough that it could serve as a model for use to-day. Taken independently by two sets of enumerators in each parish, the Catholic clergy and the ministers of the Protestant bodies, the returns were almost identical. Eight per hundred of the population

were found to be actually in the schools, though the census fell in the harvest period. No such figure could be recorded for England then, or for a score of years later. The French figure, 1833–1835, did not reach four per cent. Of the 561,000 pupils in Irish schools, 400,000 were in schools utterly independent of the English State. There were fully 9,000 of these really Irish schools, created by and for the people, and entirely maintained by them. Schools founded and favoured by the English State, or by proselytising groups acting with the aid of that State, numbered about 2,000.

The 9,000 independent and popular schools were the big fact: a fact by no means lessened in its significance by the further fact that the Irish people had to and did pay for the education there given. It was under the penal code that these popular schools had grown up, and this too was a disquieting thing in the judgment of the Ascendancy. Writing, in 1820, in "Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland," an able and bitter opponent of the Irish people and their religion summed up the situation thus:

> A mere knowledge of letters is not rare in Ireland: it is not what is wanted. In fact, every village has its school; and there are few parishes where there are not two or more, either permanent or occasional. Reading, writing, and some knowledge of arithmetic are in this way acquired by all who are able to pay the very small stipend of the schoolmaster. But this kind of education produces no general good result; the people are not *improved*: their manners and habits *continue unaltered.* The country schoolmaster is *independent of all system and control. He is himself one of the people,* imbued with the same prejudices, influenced by the same feelings, subject to the same habits. To his little share of learning he generally adds some *traditionary tales of the country, of a character* to keep *alive discontent.* He is the chronicler and pedagogue of his little circle: he is the centre of the mystery of rustic iniquity, the cheap *attorney of the neighbourhood.* Possessed of important secrets and of useful acquirements, he is courted and caressed. It will be admitted that *nothing good can be expected from an education conducted under such auspices.*

Excellent and quite unintended testimony is this, to the thoroughly democratic and Irish character of the local educational means provided for themselves by the Irish people. It was the obvious outcome of their distinctive national position: its Irish quality is its real offence in the eyes of its penetrating critic. He in no way understated its hold on popular opinion, and its universal acceptability. Other unfriendly critics tell the same story. In 1816, advocating a large Parliamentary Grant to the proselytising schools of Kildare Place, Dublin, Sir Robert Peel, then Chief Secretary, told the Westminster Parliament his own conviction on this point: "I can state as a fact within my own knowledge, that the greatest eagerness and desire prevails among the lower orders of Ireland for the benefits of instruction." The Protestant bankers, merchants, and lawyers, who set up in 1812 the Kildare Place system to control education in Ireland, and to do so by controlling the public purse, successfully urged the same plea in that same year. "The lower orders seek education with avidity." The Education Commission of 1808, composed exclusively of Prelates and other members of the Anglican Established Church within Ireland, reported in 1812:

> From the facts, we conceive it clearly to appear that the lower class of the people of Ireland are extremely anxious to obtain instruction for their children, even at an expense which, though small, very many of them can ill afford. And there is a circumstance that puts this desire in a yet stronger point of view—we mean the existence of *Evening Schools*. In one parish there are eleven of them.

Writing in 1805 to the leader of the Ascendancy landlord class, John Foster, last Speaker of the Parliament in College Green, Joseph Lancaster stresses the opportunity offered by Ireland for "training up good teachers, upon whose integrity and peaceful disposition dependence may be placed:" for "in a country in which such numbers of young men, desirous of knowledge, are

to be met with," one can avail of " the low price of labour " and keep " under regular, systematic inspection " any schools that are established. The moribund Dublin Parliament gave in the spring of 1799, first reading to a bill for establishing control over the teachers in Ireland, providing for annual licenses to teach, for inspectorial control, and for the supervision of books used. This followed an inquiry into the " State of Education of the lower Orders of the People," by a Special Committee set up immediately after the Rebellion of 1798.

The fact was that of the 9,000 popular schools in the opening quarter of the nineteenth century, hardly one was other than illegal. It was absolutely illegal for a Catholic to do any educational work from 1665 to 1782, and it was illegal to do any such work, from 1782 to 1829, without a license from the Anglican bishop of the diocese, preceded by an oath of allegiance taken in open court. Such a license was entirely a matter of favour, and it could be withdrawn at will, without reason given. It was often refused even when sought. But in few cases indeed was it asked at all. There were thousands of illegal schools, descended in right line from the Celtic system of education so widely prevalent even down to 1650. The teacher-families in the Celtic system were landholders of good position: the confiscations under Chichester and Cromwell, and the assurance of power to the Cromwellian landlords after 1691, brought these hereditary educators to be absolutely one with the whole mass of the Irish people. Such teachers were inheritors of the poetry and of the law of Gaelic Ireland, as the writer of 1820, already quoted, obviously realised. How tenaciously these men of art and song among the Gael managed to cling to their ideals, to their work, and to their local influence in the illegal schools of the people throughout the Penal Epoch, the eighteenth century, may now be read about with much pleasure and enlightenment in the kindly pages of Mr. Daniel Corkery's *Hidden*

Ireland, which came to us in Dublin on Christmas Eve, 1924.

Primarily for the land of Desmond, the south-western region of Ireland, Mr. Corkery has set out finely the culture of the veritable " Irish public " of that time, the veritable Irish people who dwelt on the land and bided their time. Into that Gaelic world, instinct with poetry and tradition of Irish law, no " statesman " of Dublin, no English-minded historian, no one of the line from Swift to Grattan, from Flood to Plunket, from Leland to Lecky, might enter : and that for the best of all reasons, that they were ignorant of it. What did the so-called " Anglo-Irish " public men know of the true Ireland ? Nothing whatever. Mr. Corkery truly points out how the Gaelic people, in the days of their oppression, kept their own cultural core intact, by covering it over with a protective coat of Englishry. Even so acute an observer as Arthur Young did not find entrance to it. " The Connells he learned of, the O'Connells he knew not." Thousands of teachers from the very heart of that hidden Ireland, men nurtured on Gaelic tradition, versed in the work of the Courts of Poetry held in forge, and wayside inn, and cabin school, and ploughman's hut, were available for the local education of the Irish people.

To all these teachers, to their scholars, and to all Gaeldom in Ireland, the proceedings of the State in Dublin and its alien life, whether before or after 1782, were hardly present. They are scarcely ever alluded to ; and no void was thereby experienced. The Irish nation was in constant, direct, and universal contact with the civilisation of Flanders, of France, of Spain, Portugal, Italy. Renaissance culture and its analogue in the older Bardic schools were fruitfully absorbed into the one Gaelic people, not by mere blending or by crude fusion, but by that healthy selective assimilation which leaves racial tradition intact. At the same time, the time of the Penal Laws, that Gaelic nation finally

absorbed the main mass of the Normans in Ireland, "the English race of ancient habitation." Mr. Corkery's highly valuable study of South-West Munster in the 18th century shows clearly how the learning of the Irish nation became universally spread, democratic in its influence, vigorous and splendidly productive at the same period, the hundred years from 1730 to 1830. What he sets out, is confessed even by the aliens.

The 1731 Reports to the Colonial House of Lords in Dublin were fortunately worked over before June, 1922; they have much to say on illegal schools in Ireland. In some places, as in the Dioceses of Derry, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, in Wexford City, the Anglican Bishops and the Mayors report the effective suppression of Popish schools, the banishment or imprisonment of masters even in mountain tracts. Some 560 illegal schools in all were found to exist, for the teaching of the two non-vernacular languages, Latin and English, for Mathematics, and other subjects: the orders of Primate Boulter to report the teachers' names are carried out carefully. But there are other significant statements, as from Tullagh and Creagh in the Diocese of Ross, of the existence of many "petty schools," or the report from Rosenallis in the Diocese of Kildare: "there are little Irish schoolmasters in many places; who they are I have not heard." The popular education of the Irish nation was conducted in these vernacular schools, "little," or "petty," or "primary" in type, using the Irish language as their medium. By 1750 such a member of the Ascendancy as Sir Richard Cox denounced the prevalence of these schools in Munster, and the tolerance accorded to the Latin and English schools which took over their scholars. In 1764 Sir James Caldwell complained of educational developments outside the power of the English State in Ireland: his words are in full accord with the content of *The Hidden Ireland.*

The Papists are not only connected by the general tie of Religion

with France and Spain, but there is not a family in the island that has not a relation in the Church, the Army, or in Trade in those countries ; and in order to qualify the children for foreign service they are all taught Latin in schools kept in poor huts, in many places in the southern part of this kingdom.

Of this educational development on democratic lines some glimpse reached Arthur Young, as he toured from one Big House to another in the years 1776–1779 :

It is among the common people one must look for those traits by which we discriminate a national character. Some degree of education is also general in Ireland. Hedge-schools, as they are called—they might as well be termed ditch schools, for I have seen many a ditch full of scholars—are everywhere to be met with, where reading and writing are taught. Schools are also common for men. Dancing is so universal among them that there are everywhere itinerant dancing masters, to whom the cottars pay sixpence a quarter for teaching their families.

The schools in "poor huts," the "hedge-schools," were also observed in 1782 and in 1787 by John Howard, F.R.S., the notable philanthropist. Howard sampled the product, and for a staunch believer in the principle of the notorious Charter Schools, made a significant report in his Journal.

At the cabins on the roadside I saw several schools, in which, for the payment of 3*s.* 3*d.* *Irish* per quarter, children were instructed in reading, writing, and accounts. Some of these I examined as to their proficiency, and found them much forwarder than those of the same age in the Charter Schools. They were clean and wholesome. The state of most of the Charter Schools is so deplorable as to disgrace Protestantism and encourage Popery in Ireland. This noble charity greatly wants a reformation.

The schools of the Gaelic Nation gave far finer results than those of the English State in Ireland : Howard is in full accord, in 1787, with Pückler-Muskau in 1828. A principal reason of this was the high educational standards of the Irish teachers. They were mostly accomplished Gaelic scholars, accumulators of Irish manuscripts, often able to speak Latin fluently, highly skilled

in elementary mathematics, as their excellent textbooks, issued in Irish towns from 1780 to 1830, fully prove. It was not for nothing that Goldsmith recorded, of the English teacher in his model English village before the Enclosure Acts, that " 'twas certain he could write, and cipher too." As late as 1850, there were on the staffs of the select group of " efficient schools " receiving public grants in England 600 " teachers " who *could not write.* When a system of training teachers was started in special central schools in London, about 1805, " masters and mistresses sent up to them were in many instances unable to write, and in some even to read." Brougham's Committee of the House of Commons, 1816–1819, found universal apathy and indifference to education prevalent among the people of England, and found the children in large areas of London " entirely ignorant, and destitute of any information whatever." The Anglican Rector of Bethnal Green, with 40,000 people, had schools for 120 pupils, and had to testify that " a very large proportion indeed are uneducated." Far other was the testimony of even Peel and his associates in Ireland at this very time, as to " the lower orders," that is, the Irish nation, and as to their teachers. Far different, too, the conclusive utterances of the unfriendly observer of the Irish people in 1820, on their zeal for education, the commanding position of their teachers, and the close association of these teachers with the traditional culture of the people to whom they entirely belonged. Compare with the " very dreadful state " of the children in wealthy Metropolitan parishes in England, 1816–1819, the published testimony of Michael Blake, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Dromore, given to such educational work as that of Thomas Betagh, Vicar-General of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin, in 1811 :

> Look to that Free School where three hundred boys, poor in everything but genius and spirit, receive their education every evening, and where more than three thousand have been already educated. Can you estimate sufficiently the value of the man

who established that institution, who cherished the objects of it, who supervised their instruction, who rewarded the most promising of them with a classical education, who at the age of seventy-three, would sit down in a cellar to hear their lessons ?

Educators and educated among the real Irish nation, from the Ascendancy rule of Boulter, Broderick and Berkeley to the Ascendancy rule, a century later, of Peel, Plunket, and Whateley, achieved splendid national results, results that did not decline till, in the years 1830–1860, the standards both of teaching quality and of school-work were decisively lowered by the development of the Stanley system of "National" Schools. The whole body of our seven millions of people, in 1824, were better educated than those of England, and even than many Continental peoples of the time. Independent German testimony has been cited to show that in the Penal times the Catholic people of Ireland proved to be better educated than the adherents of that Ascendancy which forbade Irish Catholics to look for civic equality, and by a law made as late as 1782, forbade any provision for the endowment of even one Catholic school in Ireland. No rhetorical flourish, but the plain truth was spoken and printed in 1821 by Dr. Michael Blake, when he declared: "Our poor are the most interesting people on the earth, the most nobleminded, the most grateful, the most hospitable, the most considerate, and the fondest of learning."

The public results of the great "fondness for learning," attested by friend and by enemy alike during the last half century of the penal times, were rapidly and strikingly evinced between 1823 and 1825. From 1795 to 1823 the movement for Catholic Emancipation was in the hands of the wealthy and respectable classes. They made no headway, beyond securing the lip-service of a small number of English and Anglo-Irish Whigs, men who were bent on subjecting Catholic Ireland to a new Vetoist Ascendancy. O'Connell had tried to no purpose

an abjectly humiliating policy in 1821. Wyse, the historian of the Catholic Association, testifies that in 1822 there was utter dejection and unrelieved gloom among all the Catholics of rank or wealth, in town and in country. In 1823, O'Connell turned in desperation from those on whom he had hitherto depended, and set out to organise the plain people of Ireland. Educated during the century of the Penal Code in a way still broadly and fully Irish, they responded to his call, organised themselves for the great objective in a way that proved perfectly "novel" in the eyes of Plunket and Peel, a way that has since their day become the universal model for organised civic action in Europe. No other people in Europe, neither in England nor elsewhere, could have so responded to any leader's call at that time. For that permanent addition to European civilisation O'Connell has received marked credit on the Continent from Goethe in 1830 down to Windthorst in 1880. He well deserves it. But without the finely national and entirely democratic education provided for itself for a century beforehand by the one Gaelic Nation of Ireland, a popular culture unsurpassed at that time in the civilised world, O'Connell's call for organised popular political action would have been in vain.

T. Corcoran.

DON MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ y PELAYO

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., M.A.

MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, the remarkable literary genius whose life and work supply material for, perhaps, the brightest chapter in the drab history of 19th century Spain, was born in Santander on November 3, 1856. His mother belonged to that beautiful Biscayan town, and his father, professor of Mathematics in the local Instituto, or Provincial Secondary College, hailed from Castropol in Asturias. Characteristic of both was an almost exaggerated affection for the romantic northern seaboard and an intense desire to inspire their children with the same enthusiasm. They would, indeed, be hard parents to please, if young Marcelino's response did not come up to their expectations. Two passions, he tells us himself in one of his earliest poems, dominated his boyhood years, an irresistible love for books and (if it be not desecration to paraphrase) " that love still more intimate and strong for my sweet Cantabria, holy land, land of mountains and of waves, where, if God should hear my prayer, my eyes shall close in death, and my dying ear shall soothe the whispered lullaby of the breaking swell on the distant shell-strewn shore." Nor did this love lose any of its tenderness when he reached maturity, though it was then very properly made subordinate to a higher and a nobler passion, that for " the idol of our dreams, proud, immortal and unfortunate Spain."

When ten years old Marcelino began his course of secondary studies, taking in the first two years Latin, Spanish and Christian Doctrine ; in the third year the Latin poets, geography, history, arithmetic and algebra ; in the fourth year general history, geometry and trigo-

nometry, physiology, logic, ethics and psychology; and in the fifth year physics, chemistry and natural history. He was likewise accustomed to assist at literary discussions in a local book-shop, where a lively paper called "The Bee" was edited. The presiding genius at these gatherings was his uncle, by profession a doctor, by inclination a poet, and infinitely more interested in the latest novel than in the latest developments of his patients' ailments. At the same time the boy studied English with a capable teacher, and Italian and French, both of which languages he came to speak fluently without tutorial aid. German he did not begin to study until much later.

Philosophy was taught in Latin and according to the Scholastic method, so Marcelino found himself in due course appointed to expound and defend a thesis in one of the public disputations. His theme was the immortality of the soul. The fame of the fourteen year old disputant was already great among his townsfolk, and a large audience gathered to applaud his success. A long paragraph from the *Disputationes Tusculanae*, well declaimed, made a splendid introduction. He then defined his terms, explained with precision what he meant and did not mean to defend, and proved his thesis; all, by unanimous consent, magnificently. It was now the business of select adversaries to assail his conclusions, a duty which they undertook with awe-inspiring energy. The result was unexpected and mournful. In the bewildering maze of majors, minors and consequences the youthful defender lost his bearings, and it was not long until he was wandering in ways so labyrinthine that hopes of his finding an egress had to be abandoned. "Ergo: falsa est thesis!" shouted the triumphant assailant with a merciless emphasis. There was, indeed, nothing to be done but for the presiding professor to intervene and extricate, as tenderly as he could, the tearful sufferer from the clutches of his persecutor. The incident merely proved that prodigies, too, have their

limitations, especially where the task is hard; but for the sensitive boy it was a real tragedy, and it is on record that he sought human, if very unphilosophic, consolation by taking several rushes, head foremost, at the college wall.

At fifteen he passed on to the University of Barcelona, that city being chosen in preference to Madrid, chiefly because of the spirit of scepticism and unbelief then rife among professors at the Capital. Academic life in Barcelona was not quite as languid as elsewhere in the Peninsula; indeed the schools of law, archaeology, natural science and literature might be called flourishing. Here Menéndez y Pelayo remained two years, studying Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish and general literature. It was in the last named class that he made his *début*, certainly more brilliant than is usually accorded to a university freshman. The professor had asked what he understood of the concept of the beautiful, and while the grey-haired scholar marvelled and the other students rubbed their eyes in wonder, the boy of fifteen sketched in masterly sentences the innumerable theories propounded by philosophers and writers from Plato to his own day. Three prize-essays—on the Spanish theatre, on tragic poetry in Latin, and on the earth considered as a celestial body—belong to these years. He also contributed to the periodical in which the Professors published their shorter scientific studies; and he planned and collected material for a great work on translations from Greek, Latin and other languages into Spanish. Meanwhile his success in the University examinations was unprecedented.

In 1873, a month or so before his 18th birthday, he removed to Madrid, and signed for courses in Greek literature, Spanish history, metaphysics and bibliography. All went well except in the philosophy class, where his professor was Don Nicolás Salmerón, a rigid and passionate follower of the Neo-Kantian Pantheist, Karl Christian

Krause. Gems like the following: "I and my essence, the unity and the totality that I am, exist in eternity, in a unity surpassing the contrariety of pre-existence and post-existence, which I find in myself only in relation to time, knowing myself to be of eternity as a propriety of my being," were glossed with biting cleverness by the brilliant young student. He admitted, however, that his professor was a man of naturally robust intellect, who would live to laugh at the jargon with which he then tortured unoffending hearers. The concession may have been magnanimous, but it was hardly sufficient to create an ideal examination atmosphere, so when the day for that ordeal arrived Menéndez y Pelayo wisely turned his back upon Madrid and presented himself at Valladolid.

A brief summary of his university career gives some idea of his ability. He was not yet 18 when he obtained the primary degree, nor 19 when he donned the doctor's gown. His two most important dissertations were "A critical study of the Councils of Toledo" and "The Novel among the Latins: the Satyricon of Petronius—the Metamorphosis of Apuleius." In four years he carried off 24 ordinary and 3 extraordinary prizes.

Meanwhile he had become intimate with one who for fourteen years was to have a decisive and supremely beneficial influence on his work—"a man of charming manners and modest fame," to quote his own words, "of clear thought and elegant diction, a gentle and candid soul, full of virtue and of patriotism, purified in the crucible of suffering until he emerged with the perfection of an ascetic. I speak, of course, of Don Gumersindo Laverde. He wrote little, but that little of exceptional merit. His name is bound inseparably with the efforts to restore Spanish history and learning, especially with my own labours, which without his stimulus and direction would, perhaps, never have been undertaken."

At this period his chief work was a translation of lyric poems from Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English

and Catalan into exquisite Spanish verse; but he also published historical notes on the metrics of the Castilian tongue, and some articles on the Jesuits expelled from Spain by Charles III., as introduction to a large volume which he had planned on the same subject. In that year, too, the Town Council of Santander, proud to claim as its own such a citizen, voted him a gift of 3,000 pesetas to enable him to visit various foreign libraries, and the Provincial Deputation added a like sum. The journey was, however, deferred until the following year. Meanwhile he planned in detail the great work that was later to appear under the title "History of Aesthetic Ideas in Spain." At the same time he planned, on equally grandiose lines, a history of heresies in Spain, or the ecclesiastical history of that country from the reverse side; a monumental "History of Spanish Learning" (*La Ciencia Espanola*); a study of the influence of Horace on Spanish literature through the centuries; all this without interrupting his translations from the Classics, or the series entitled *Escritores montaneses* (Distinguished Writers of north-western Spain) which he was then publishing. When it is remembered that his erudition on every subject was at first-hand, that the genius with which he classified teachings, established connections, and made deductions was only exercised after a study of the texts that would have done credit to a plodding student and that the writer was not yet twenty, it is obvious that we are dealing with a man of phenomenal ability.

In 1876 Menéndez y Pelayo began his investigations of Spanish literature in foreign libraries, journeying successively to Lisbon, Oporto, Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, Milan, Paris, Louvain, Ghent, Brussels, Bruges, Liège, the Hague, Leyden and Amsterdam. The account of his discoveries in Italy alone filled a volume. As an example of his activities we shall select for brevity's sake the Queen of the Adriatic, the place where he seems to have encountered least. In the Library of St. Mark in

that city he unearthed documents that threw new light on Alvaro Pelagio; Thomas the Scot (an Averroist of the 13th century, who went about Spain preaching that the world should be ruled by philosophy and not by faith); Claudius of Turin, the Iconoclast; and Prudencio Galindo, a Spanish adversary of John Scotus Eriugena. He finished copying a treatise *De Artificio* by Fernando de Córdoba, from the beautiful original preserved in the Venetian library. Unedited works which he found there and studied were *De Remediis afflictae Ecclesiae*, an attack on the Council of Basel, by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo; a translation of Aristotle's Metaphysics made by Cardinal Bessarabion for the Castilian king, Alfonso V.; and, above all, the University lectures of Montes de Oca on the treatises *De Anima*, *De Caelo* and *Physica* of Aristotle, delivered in Padua in the years 1525–7.

At Florence a letter reached him from Laverde announcing that a certain publishing firm had decided to issue a Library of Greek and Latin Authors, ancient and mediaeval, and asking his advice as to what should be selected. He sat down at once and drew up from memory (for his books and notes had been left behind at Santander) a complete plan, which he despatched to his friend. It contained the names of 115 authors and their chief works, from Homer and Hesiod to the humanists Sannazaro, Erasmus and Vives.

While he was still abroad an article by one of his degenerate countrymen was brought to his notice. The writer seemed to take pleasure in holding up to ridicule the intellectual achievements of his country, reserving, as might be expected, his best diatribes for mediaeval philosophy and the Inquisition. Menéndez y Pelayo replied in three long letters, which contain some passages of lasting value. "All the branches of the tree of civilization," he points out, "do not show equal development among any people in any single epoch. Where was Copernicus born? In Poland. What else of scientific

value did 16th century Poland produce? Nothing that we know of. When did Galileo and Torricelli flourish in Italy? At the beginning of the 17th century, when literary taste was decaying at an alarming rate in the transalpine peninsula . . . . Where was Franklin born? In the English colony of North America. What literature, what philosophy, what historical criticism did the colonies then possess? Absolutely none." Of Spain he says:—

> In the Middle Ages astronomy and mathematics, inherited by us from the Arabs, flourished in our midst; we mastered these sciences, made them speak in the Spanish tongue, and passed them on to the rest of Europe. Our literature in those days was rude and imperfect; our theology incomplete; the liberal arts were absent and historical studies were in their infancy. In the 16th century, on the contrary, theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, the liberal arts, medicine, poetry and prose flourish, whilst astronomy and mathematics are relegated to the background. In the 17th century drama and historical criticism absorb our interest, whilst theology and the kindred sciences, as well as prose and poetry, decay. In the 18th century drama well-nigh disappears, prose and poetry revive, theology reaches a low ebb, the natural sciences are studied with enthusiasm, historical criticism holds its own, new branches of study, like comparative philology and the history of literature, are introduced. Such is the irregular course which learning has taken on our soil. As a people we may, indeed, consider ourselves fortunate; for at one period or another we have covered almost the whole field of knowledge.

The next important event in the life of Menéndez y Pelayo was his appointment as professor of the history of literature at the Central University in Madrid. When the vacancy occurred he was only 21, and the minimum age for applicants was 23, so that he was debarred from entering the lists. But his friends in Parliament removed this obstacle by having a special law carried in his favour. He was thus entitled to present himself before the seven Professors who formed the Examining Board in the competition. Men of smaller intellect note with envy that he neglected to make any direct preparation for an examination that for him meant so much, going on with

the hundred odd tasks he had in hand as if these were what really mattered. When the trial came, however, he outclassed his competitors by an enormous margin. Second in order of merit came Don José Canalejas, destined later to be Prime Minister, and to be cruelly assassinated whilst filling that high office.

Of the modesty and patriotism of the young professor, who thus entered on his University duties surrounded by a nimbus of glory, it is unnecessary to dwell; but a word must be said of his indefatigable industry. The most eloquent testimony to his labours is undoubtedly the bibliography of his works, which, as published in full by his disciple Bonilla, covers 88 pages! His manner of life was simple and curious. As a rule he woke early, breakfasted on a cup of black coffee, then read, studied or corrected proofs without rising from his bed. About mid-day he rose, dressed carelessly in a few minutes, and betook himself to a neighbouring restaurant for a hasty dinner; after which he hurried to his desk in the great *Biblioteca Nacional*. For the intense labour of composition the period from one to five of the afternoon suited him best. About 5.30 p.m. he returned to work in his rooms, taking a glass or two of refreshments on the way. Late in the evening he went out again for a light supper, but when engrossed in books, as often happened, he forgot completely about this and went to bed hungry. A rare visit to the theatre was practically his only recreation.

Thanks to the kindly offices of his brother, Don Enrique, the private library in his house at Santander (at his death 40,000 volumes, many of extreme value) was kept in good order; his study, however, was like a china-shop after a visit from the proverbial bull. Piles of books, endless yards of proofs, foolscap, envelopes, cards, broken pens, upturned inkpots in appalling disorder littered and encumbered the floor, so that often it must have required considerable gymnastic exercise to cover the space that separated his chair from the door. But

in this seemingly wild confusion he was perfectly at home, and could lay his finger on anything he needed without a moment's hesitation.

The scheduled time for his lectures during term was from 3.0 to 4.30 of the afternoon, but as often as not he mistook the hour, and his students got lessons in patience as well as in the history of literature. That there was compensation for the annoyance thus caused, the following incident, related by one of his disciples, amply proves. It was an evening in early January, bleak, cold and grey. The Master was engaged in discussing the Castilian King, Don Pedro the Cruel, and the treatment that monarch had received at the hands of the dramatists, from Tirso and Lope de Vega down to Zorrilla :

> Rather than an academic lecture it seemed to us to be a march-past of men of flesh and blood, every one of whom laid bare to us his soul, revealing with marvellous sincerity the deepest mysteries of his life and thought. The Master appeared to be carried away by a holy enthusiasm, and we students responded with a fervent attention, almost as if listening to a Prophet of the Most High. The growing darkness and the breathless silence lent effect to his clear and vibrant sentences. Then somebody suddenly noticed that the hour was almost spent, that the old beadle would soon be coming to announce that class was ended. Without discussion or pre-arrangement the same thought occurred to every mind, and one of the students slipped out, met the unwanted beadle and threatened him with the direst penalties if he interfered with that evening's "devotions." The beadle went back grumbling, and the grand torrent of learning and literary vision continued unabated in the classroom. Complete darkness had now set in, and the Master, unable to read his texts, recited them from memory, interpreted them, commented on them, revealed the secrets of the writers' work, whilst the students listened like so many enchanted beings. Finally he began to feel that the lecture that day was unusually long, and pulling out his watch found it already six o'clock, so that he had spoken for three hours instead of the one-and-a-half intended. Class for that afternoon was accordingly suspended.

Characteristic of Menéndez y Pelayo all through life was a noble Catholic spirit, of which he was ever ready

to give public proof. This he did for the first time on May 30, 1881 (his age being then 25), at a banquet in honour of numerous foreign *littérateurs* who had come to Madrid to celebrate the centenary of Calderón. Liberalism it need hardly be pointed out was then in its heyday, and any favourable reference to the Church or to Catholic principles was regarded in aesthetic circles as a demonstration of melancholy obscurantism. No lamentable offence against good taste marred the oratorical achievements of the evening until Menéndez y Pelayo stood up to speak :

It was not my intention to address this distinguished gathering [he said], but the frequent references to my name by gentlemen who have already spoken oblige me to say a few words. I toast, then, that which nobody so far has thought worthy of mention, the great ideas which were the soul and inspiration of Calderon's poems. In the first place, the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman faith, which in seven centuries of struggle enabled us to win back our native soil, which in the white dawn of the Renaissance opened to us Spaniards the virgin forests of America, and to the Portuguese the fabled sanctuaries of India. Yes, the Catholic faith, the *substratum*, the essence, the best and most beautiful element in our theology, our philosophy, our literature and our art. I toast, in the second place, the ancient and traditional Spanish monarchy, Christian in nature, democratic in form, which during the 16th century lived in almost cenobitic austerity, and I toast the House of Austria, which, though foreign in origin and with interests opposed to ours, made itself the bulwark of the Church and the standard-bearer of the Holy See during all that century. . . . In a word I toast all the ideas and all the sentiments which Calderon introduced into his art, sentiments and ideas which are ours, which we accept as such and of which we are proud, by which we and we alone have full right to exalt his memory as the Spanish and Catholic poet *par excellence*, the poet of all that is uncompromising and, if you like, intolerant in Catholicism, the poet theologian, the poet inquisitor, whom we reverence, but whom parties in greater or less degree Liberal can in no sense count as theirs. . . . And I declare solemnly that I have no sympathy with the semi-pagan form given to this Centenary, that I abhor the principles which govern its celebration, and which would disgust Calderon himself, could he rise from the grave.

Menéndez y Pelayo was, as he said on another occasion, a Catholic to the marrow of his bones, and always delighted to show it. Never, perhaps, did he do this more brilliantly than at the Eucharistic Congress of 1911 at Madrid, when he dragged himself from his sick-bed to deliver an address on devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in mediaeval Spain. Disease had in no wise impaired his powers; the diction is rich and strong, the subject matter marvellously learned, the piety intense, the proportions perfect, so that the speech is literature of the highest order, and will probably live as long as the Spanish language. Lack of space unfortunately forbids quotations.

For four years he was a member of the Chamber of Deputies and for 14 years a member of the Senate, but his connection with these bodies was little more than nominal. Canalejas judged rightly when he said that Menéndez y Pelayo was too great a man to fit into any party. That he was a hopeless Parliamentarian is clear from the fact that his dearest friend, Laverde, had to remind him some forty times of a promise to call on one of the Ministers in support of a project in which Laverde was interested. Now and then he did take part in a debate, as in that on a bill to separate philosophy from the Faculty of Arts in the universities. Against this he protested with all his strength:—

> If philosophy is not to be barbarous sophistry of one or the other school, it must have at its service all the auxiliary sciences, especially those grouped under the term "philology." Otherwise it can never understand fully the texts of the great philosophers or master their contents. In the same way it is very desirable that philosophers should know how to write, and that they should study history, thus learning not to exclude from their speculations a prudent respect for the real element in life. Besides, the Faculty of Letters, if you take away philosophy, is left without any true transcendence. Aesthetic ideas can never be grasped by one who has not studied philosophy seriously in all its branches. Thus the subjects included in the Faculty as it now stands, though they appear heterogeneous, are connected by a hidden tie, and this

Faculty provides, in consequence, an excellent general education for the mind.

The development of philosophic thought in the Iberian Peninsula is treated in detail by Menéndez y Pelayo in the first and second of his three volumes on "Spanish Learning." In these pages the "gigantic intuition" which astonished contemporaries appears at its best; there is hardly a paragraph that does not bear the impress of a master mind. Personally he declared himself to be a follower of the Humanist Luis Vives —dissatisfied, that is, with all existing systems and inclined to express his dissatisfaction in no measured terms. Germans of every school he found intolerably nebulous; the Scotch of his day, like Hamilton, he praised as logicians and psychologists, but condemned as metaphysicians. Of Scholasticism he was a severe critic, and he was particularly irate with certain moderns (M. de Wulf of Louvain was, in his eyes, one of the worst offenders) who tried to identify the system with orthodox Catholic thought. He professed rather an eclecticism all his own, which, as far as he could discover, harmonised perfectly with revealed truth. For Thomism he had no word of commendation. He realised, of course, that it was a system of comparative simplicity, safe from the standpoint of faith and with some solution for every difficulty, and therefore of great pedagogic value in the seminaries, where youths with powers of thinking still undeveloped get a hasty introduction to the main problems of philosophy, but to try to confine human thought within such boundaries he thought foolish and futile, like the effort to confine the boundless ocean within a narrow river-bed. With a Dominican countryman, Father Fonseca, he had a long controversy, rich in strong affirmations and perfectly fruitless; but his most scathing criticism was reserved for the Jesuit Fathers Liberatore, Sanseverino and Taparelli, whose works he devastated with fire and sword. His own ideal was indeed high, for he looked

forward to the coming of some supreme philosophic genius, who would think freely, profoundly, poetically like Plato, systematically like Aristotle, catholically like St. Augustine, synthetically like St. Thomas, who would gather the elements of truth, great and small, from the systems hitherto constructed, supply what still was wanting, and in the mighty mill of a consummately harmonious mind mould all into a sublime unity. Perhaps in one of the centuries yet to come, before the Church's task is accomplished, before the last successor of St. Peter returns the keys to the Divine Master, this dream will be realised. Meanwhile we shall have to content ourselves with modest progress along the lower slopes of the philosophic mount.

Few better proofs of Menéndez y Pelayo's intuition as a critic could be found than his speech on the literary culture of Cervantes, delivered in 1905. It was a subject trite enough in all conscience, and his friends were septical about his finding anything to say that had not been said excellently a hundred times already. But their scepticism was unjustified, as the following short quotation will show :—

It was a happy thought on Cervantes' part [he said] to leave the frontiers between reason and madness so uncertain, and convey the noblest lessons in wisdom through the mouth of a crazy knight-errant. His intention in this was not to scoff at human intelligence nor to make a mockery of heroism, which in Don Quixote is only ridiculous because of the inadequate and exaggerated manner in which he tries to realize his ideal. Indeed what unbalances the good knight is not idealism, but anarchic individualism. A false concept of activity leads him to lose his peace of mind and to rave with rage, drags him into an imprudent conflict with the world, and renders sterile all his virtues and his efforts. . . . Cervantes loved beauty, and everything else was added unto him. He surpasses the countless others who parodied chivalry, because he treated chivalry with love and they did not. [As for Sancho]—he is a character as complex as Don Quixote himself, though seemingly simplicity incarnate. He is not an incomplete and vulgar symbol of practical wisdom, nor merely the humorous

chorus that accompanies the tragi-comedy of life ; he is something higher and better ; he is a soul redeemed and purified of the dust of matter by Don Quixote, the first and greatest triumph of the ingenious hidalgo, who from the coarsest clay shapes a living image to which he communicates the breath of immortality. [And he adds]—The very beasts they ride are as undying as their masters. The earth they trod remains consecrated for ever in the poetic geography of the world ; and, to-day, when fortune seems bent on dealing harshly with us Spaniards, this book is our best title to nobility. The familiar shadows of its heroes fan the dying flame on the national hearth and win for our land tokens of love and benediction from all mankind.

Of Menéndez y Pelayo's ability as a historian there is no space to speak. He reconstructed his country's past as no other man could do, and by teaching the present its virtues and its defects sought to make the future what it should be. "Our history," he kept drilling into the ears of his countrymen, "is written mostly by our enemies, and in spite of them, is great." In 1901 he summed up the situation of Spain in the following sad but striking words: "To-day we are assisting at the slow suicide of a people, deceived a thousand times by garrulous sophists, impoverished, diminished, ruined, which employs the little energy it has left in rending itself to pieces, which is interested only in foreign culture and neglects its own, though it is in its own culture alone that a nation can find redemption and honour, which despises its ancestors, flees from its own thought, disowns everything that made it great in history, casts to the winds of heaven its artistic treasures, contemplates with stupid gaze the destruction of all that the world knows as Spain." Then having described how differently other peoples have acted, how Germany and Italy worked their way to unity and strength, he continues: "Where the heritage of the past, rich or poor, brilliant or obscure, is not reverently preserved, a single original idea or a single great thought will be looked for in vain. A people of recent growth can improvise anything else you wish,

but it cannot improvise intellectual culture. An ancient people cannot renounce its intellectual past without destroying the noblest part of its being and falling into a second infancy, closely akin to senile decay."

It would be tedious to enumerate the Academies, Spanish and foreign, of which Menéndez y Pelayo was a member, or to describe the three great celebrations in his honour held during his lifetime, at the last of which a gold medal, with his bust in relief, was presented to him by 700 admirers and friends. He died a tranquil Catholic death on May 19, 1912, at the age of 56. A complete edition of his works has been in course of publication for some years (under 19 headings, it will comprise in all some 35 to 45 volumes). Eighteen of the foremost writers and scholars of the day, in every branch of Spanish literature, are proud to call themselves his disciples, whilst the number of others at home and abroad who found inspiration in his writings, is legion. Indeed there can be little doubt but that the great movement of national regeneration, which began in 1923, has its roots ultimately in his teaching; to what degree it is for future investigators to determine.

JOHN RYAN.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXIX—On Cathal Redhand

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

THE following poem must have been composed between 1213, the date of Muiredach's quarrel with O'Donnell (No. XXVI.), and the death of Cathal Croibhdhearg in 1224. The poet and his attendant appeal for help to Cathal, king of Connacht and brother of Ruaidhrí O Conchobhair, the last king of Ireland. The usual encomium upon a patron follows; he is supreme in war and sport and manly beauty.

The text is from A. IV. 3 (R.I.A.). The scribe has left a couple of blanks; apparently the MS. from which he copied was illegible in places.

An Muireadhach cédna.

1. Tabhrum an Cháisg ar Chathal,
a hucht Iosa an Ardathar:
a mheic, cuimhnigh ar gcaingni,
dheit . . . .[1]

2. Eisd, a rí súlghorm Sionna,
inni agus dá éinghiolla—
nach truagh ar gcaingni a ceathair—
ag faighdhi ar na fuineachaibh.

3. An ceathror crosda ar gach ndruing,
gan lón énduine aguinn:
maith an choimhdhe dár gcabhair,
an Coimdhe is O Conchobhair.

4. Gluaisdior linn d'iarraidh fhaighdhi
go ceann foltchas fionn Aidhne:[2]
dá n-éra ceann Aidhne[2] inn,
nocha mbem d'fhaighdhi a nEirinn.

5. Ar gcaingni ré a chéibh ndruimnigh,
lór éinbhél dá athchuinghidh:
giodh eadh nocha seichébh soin
gan mo leithén um leanmhoin.

[1] Left blank in MS. [2] Aighne MS.

6. Lór linn ón rosgmhall reabhach
an bhreath do bhaisd Muireadhach :
ní ag iarraidh tuillidh atám
acht ar chuinnigh [1] mo chumpán.

7. Lámh dhuid ar dhath an tsneachta,
a ghnúis ríoghdha ruithionta :
an dara lámh go dearg dhuid,
mo ghrádh don Cheard ros cumaid.

8. . . . . aithnidh [2] éirghios a fhearg,
O Conchobhair an Croibhdhearg :
donnlámh is geallámh fa gha
ag leannán bonnbhán Banbha.

9. As amhlaidh rugadh flaith Fáil
's a sgríbhionn lais 'na leathláimh :
branán fearchonta Chláir Chuinn,
láimh ghealchorcra as a ghualoinn.

10. Lámhach a láimhi deisi,
ní hurusa a innisi :
deargthair cláir ochta d'fhoghaibh
do láimh chorcra Uí Chonchobhair.

11. Cuiridh sgiath ar sgáth a chnis
risna gáibh nach ttéid thairis :
fuaighfidh risna gáibh géra
an láimh shuaithnidh shoisgéla.

12. Mór soighiod go seanglúib nglain
do tharruing bas chorr Chathail ;
fagha [3] chas tachair do theilg
bas tana Chathail Chroibhdheirg.

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[1] -idh. [2] Rent in MS. [3] fogha MS.

13. Maith ar each, ní holc dá chois
lámhach Cathail Dhúin Durlais
gabhaidh ó Cuinn chleith fá sheól
eidir dhruim eich is aieór.[1]

14. Maith sén tugadh go Teamhraigh
rí Muaidhe, mac Toirrdhealbhaigh :
nocha sill buachail ar bhoin [2]
re linn uí Thuathail Teachtmhair.

15. Suairc an taidhbhsi tárfas damh
aréir do chathuibh Cruachan,
a dhul amach san Midhe,
gach clach [3] 'na tur theinntidhe.[4]

16. Crithre teineadh tárfas damh
d'fhaicsin ar fhud a margadh :
as í an chrithre, as breath bhunaidh,[5]
sirthi creach Uí Chonchobhair.

17. Do-chiú glastonn mara mir
amuigh ag toidheacht tairrsibh :
as í an ghlastonn mhear mhara
an geal basdonn béltana.

18. As é an Croibhdhearg chuirfios soir
na Gulla do ghabh Theamhraigh :
an duine ní diombáidh linn
'gá ttiomáin uile a hEirinn.

19. Do-bheir thír gan bhrat gan bhoin
an geal donn, ó Duach Galaigh :
do-bheir cuach a dabhaigh dheirg
ó Duach Galaigh don Ghaoidheilg.

20. Do-bheirid gotha a ghaghar
rí Eireann go hamhlabhar :
gaghar ar chuan go gcluinionn
ní faghar uadh urfhuighioll.

[1] aidheór MS. [2] bhuin MS. [3] cloch MS. [4] -ighi MS. [5] bhonaidh MS.

21. Do-bheirid beanna uaine
teas a ngnúis uí gheal Ghuaire :
maith an sódh seinleanna sin
geilbheanna . . . . [1]

22. Ionar corcra mar chaoir nduinn
matal sgarlóid, sgiamh ndíoghainn,
is léini chaol mar chailc ngil
fá dhá thaobh uí Airt Aoinfhir.

23. Diobhruigis sgoth a sgingi
uaidh ag imbirt fhithchille :
cúl réidhshleamhain tais do theilg
dá bhais mhéirleabhair mhíndeirg.

24. Súil chochlach uaine aga,
dá bhais mhíne mhérfhada,
is bonn tana saor sleamhain,
mala chaol donn druimleabhair.[2]

25. Minic luaittear a leabhraibh
oidhre taoibhgheal Toirrdhealbhaigh :
cúl fiar is fleasga 'na bharr—
trian a theasda ní thabhram.

Translation

1. Let us spend Easter with Cathal, in the name of Jesus, Son of the High Father ! O Son, remember our troubles, to Thee . . .
2. Listen, O blue-eyed king of the Shannon ; we and two attendants—is not the state of us four wretched ?—begging . . . (?).
3. The four forbidden to every throng, without the meal of a single man amongst us, a good defence for our aid are the Lord and O'Connor.
4. Let us go to seek a boon from the curly-haired ruler of Aidhne[3] : if Aidhne's ruler refuse us, we shall ask no boon in Ireland.
5. Our business with his clustering locks—one mouth is enough to ask it, yet I will not pursue that without my fellow bird accompanying me.
6. I deem sufficient from the calm-eyed playful prince the award that Muireadhach has named : I am seeking no more than what my companion has asked.

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[1] Left blank in MS. [2] -ar MS. [3] The barony of Kiltartan, Co. Galway.

7. Thou hast one hand of the colour of snow, O shining kingly face; thy other hand is red, dear to me the Artist by whom they were shaped.
8. . . . rises the anger of O'Connor the Red-handed: a ruddy hand and a bright hand about the spear hath the white-soled darling of Banbha.
9. The prince of Fál was born with his charter in one hand—gallant champion; of Conn's Plain—a bright crimson hand from his shoulder.
10. The shooting of his right hand is not easy to tell: breasts are reddened with darts from O'Connor's crimson hand.
11. He sets a shield to protect his skin against the spears that do not go past him; to the sharp spears he will fasten the famous left[1] hand.
12. Many a shaft with bright slender loop has been drawn by Cathal's tapering palm: the graceful palm of Cathal the Redhanded has cast a quick battle spear.
13. Good on horseback, excellent on foot, is the shooting of Cathal of Dún Durlais:[2] Conn's descendant catches a lance in flight between the horse's back and the sky.
14. With good omen was the king of the Moy, Toirrdhealbhach's[3] son, brought to Tara: no herdsman watches a cow in the time of the descendant of Tuathal Teachtmhar.[4]
15. Pleasant was the vision that appeared to me last night of the battalions of Cruacha, how he went forth into Meath and each stone building became a blazing bush.
16. Sparks of fire I seemed to see throughout its markets; the sparks—'tis a well-founded judgment—were O'Connor's raiding bands.
17. I see the green wave of the wild sea coming over them yonder: the wild green wave of the sea is the bright redhanded thin-lipped prince.
18. It is the Redhand that will drive eastwards the Foreigners who have seized Tara: it were no grief to me that he should banish them all from Ireland.
19. The white and ruddy prince sprung from Duach Galach[5] makes a land to be without cloak or cow: Duach Galach's descendant bestows upon the Gaelic a goblet from a red vat.
20. The voices of his hounds make the king of Ireland dumb: till he hears a hound in the pack no speech is got from him.
21. Blue horns bring heat into the face of bright Guaire's[6] descendant: that is a good defeat of old ale, bright horns . . .
22. A crimson tunic like a red berry, a scarlet mantle decked with great ornaments, and a fine shirt like white chalk are about the sides of the descendant of Art Aoinfhear.
23. He casts off the flower of his raiment while playing chess, he throws back his sleek soft hair with his long-fingered smooth red hand.
24. A blue eye he has with dark lashes, smooth long-fingered hands, a foot slender, noble and smooth, and a brow delicate, brown, long-ridged.
25. Often in books is told of Toirrdhealbhach's bright-skinned heir: curving locks with ringlets above—one-third of his fame I do not tell. OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] Lit. "gospel hand," from the rule of the ceremonial of the Mass, Stokes, *Eriu*, iii., 11. [2] Probably Durlas, near Kinvara. [3] King of Connacht (+1156).

[4] Legendary restorer of law and order in the first century. According to the official pedigrees Cathal was thirty-second or thirty-fourth in descent from him, through his grandson Conn Céadchathach (§13) and Conn's son Art Aoinfhear (§22).

[5] Nephew of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The old nom. is Dui.

[6] King of Aidhne (+663 or 666), the traditional model of generosity.

THE STORY OF THE CHURCH IN NEW ZEALAND

BY GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

THE recent Eucharistic Congress celebrated at Amsterdam helped to call attention to a portion of the Catholic world very far remote from the scene of that fraternal gathering. New Zealand was there represented by its Primate—by the senior bishop of the world—Francis Redwood, who at his consecration in 1874 had the distinction of being the world's youngest bishop. His presence was naturally one of the most interesting and picturesque features of the Amsterdam celebration, and made prominent in the thoughts and talk of many the land of which he is spiritual chief. Dr. Redwood's life is, in truth, nearly coeval with that of New Zealand's Catholicism. For the latter's earliest date is 1828, while he was born in 1839, and was brought out from his native Staffordshire to New Zealand as an infant of three years. That expedition of the Redwood family in 1842 must have seemed an amazingly venturous one for quiet English country folk!

We may look at New Zealand's century—almost—of Catholic history in another way, and say that it is fully spanned by two active lives—those of Mr. Poynton and of Archbishop Redwood. Its two chapters might be headed by their names; but it would be better to head a middle chapter with the name of Pompallier—that of the pioneer bishop of 1836 to 1870, so would Ireland, England, and France be united in a harmony of apostolic work.

The islands of New Zealand, a late work of Nature's hand, have received an exceptional abundance of her blessings. Their religious history also has begun very late; we shall see whether it is a record of rapid advances.

Poynton was the first Catholic who is known to have settled in New Zealand. He came from County Wexford in 1828, traded in timber, and after an honourable career died in 1890. His wife, born Kennedy, also a native of Wexford, gave proof of faith and courage by making on two occasions the long journey of twelve hundred miles to Australia in order to have her children baptised by a Catholic priest. As Catholics continued to land in increasing numbers, the Poyntons began to urge the claims of their adopted country on their bishop—Dr. Polding, O.S.B., who, with the title of " Bishop of New Holland " and resident at Port Jackson (now Sydney), held jurisdiction over an immense section of the earth's surface.

After some time Rome became interested in the claims of the new mission, and in 1835 New Zealand was cut off from " New Holland " (Australia), and with many other islands was made part of a new Vicariate-Apostolic named " Western Oceania." This new creation coincided with the apostolic beginnings of the Society of Mary, which (in two forms—Fathers and Brothers) had been initiated by the venerable Fathers Colin and Champagnat. Into close relations with them had entered a young cleric of brilliant promise, Jean-Baptiste Pompallier, who, from early years fired with missionary enthusiasm by reading the lives of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, had almost become a Jesuit, then a Marist, but was called by Providence to a different kind of missionary vocation. In 1835, at the age of thirty-three, ere it was yet possible for him to pronounce his vows in the nascent Society, he was unexpectedly designated to lead forth, as Vicar-Apostolic, the adventurous missionary enterprize to the Antipodes, and was summoned to Rome for episcopal consecration. At the same time the papal confirmation of the new Congregation was hastened on, and seven of its members were sent out as fellow-workers with Mgr. Pompallier. Those seven men were truly worthy of honourable remembrance. One was martyred a few years later in the isle

of Futuna, which immediately after his death and without any other missionary's help became entirely Christian; this was the Blessed Peter Chanel. Father Epalle, after many years of labour in New Zealand, met his end by the clubs of savages in the Solomon Islands. Father Bataillon and the others endured hardships and sufferings which might well have given them rank with martyrs.

Mgr. Pompallier was in many respects an ideal missionary pioneer and bishop. His physical, mental and spiritual qualifications enabled him to accomplish wonders during his long episcopate of thirty years. In 1838 the Bishop, with three Marist companions, sailed up the Hokianga river in the extreme north of North Island, where Poynton had preceded them ten years earlier. In the house of the Poyntons they found hospitality, and there was celebrated the first Mass said in New Zealand. A little circumstance of this missionary début reminds us of those who were especially intended to benefit by it—namely, the native Maori tribes. Mgr. Pompallier had brought with him commendatory and private letters from Dr. Polding, in one of which kindly inquiries were made concerning a certain "Mary," with a promise to stand sponsor for her next child. This Mary was a Maori woman who had been baptized by Dr. Polding at Port Jackson, and had since then married an Irish settler named Cassidy.

In fact, the work for the Maoris—arduous toils for a people not (in the ordinary sense) civilized and, though possessing fine qualities, restless and contentious,—began without delay, and began to bear excellent fruits. In 1850, when on the separation from Wellington of the new diocese of Auckland the Marist Fathers were transferred southward from the latter, they left behind in the former scene of their labours no less than 5,040 neophytes; whilst in the South Island in 1853 we find already 1,000. In 1840 Mass was celebrated for the first time in what was beginning to be regarded as the capital town—Auckland, then called Port Nicholson. For two years a layman—a

doctor named Fitzgerald—had charge, as catechist, of the local Catholics; then came a Capuchin priest named O'Reilly. This good man was a strong adherent of his fellow-Capuchin, the Irish apostle of temperance, but for a considerable time he had to say Mass in a room adjoining a drinking-bar.

In 1842 New Zealand was erected into a separate vicariate, Mgr. Pompallier, resident at Auckland, being its head. We will not dwell here upon the extraordinary pains and labours endured by him and his assistants during those initial years, and for long after. They are the inevitable conditions of missionary enterprise in any country which is quite new to civilisation as well as to Christianity; they are the daily bread, the glory, of the generous worker for Christ. But Christianity was not so very new to those lands in all its forms—and from that fact arose some of the missioners' worst trials. On this point we will quote a page from a work which has been helpful to all parts of our sketch—Cardinal Moran's *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*:—

The Protestant missions in New Zealand date back as early as 1814. Rev. Samuel Marsden, of Sydney, on a homeward voyage to England, had for a companion a Maori chief, who was in search of arms, axes, and iron implements for his tribe. Marsden, having been a blacksmith before his call to preach the Gospel, gave much useful information to the chieftain and no little practical aid. He subsequently, at the chieftain's request, visited New Zealand, and secured the co-operation of some lay missionaries and others to cultivate the mission field. A number . . . soon found their way thither; but, to judge from the Parliamentary reports and other official statements, the various Protestant missions were attended with very little success. Rev. Dr. Lang, writing in 1839, stated that "the first head of the New Zealand mission was dismissed for adultery, the second for drunkenness, and the third for a crime more enormous than either." He adds: "I am confident it would be impossible to find a parallel, in the history of any Protestant mission, to the inefficiency and moral worthlessness which the record of New Zealand presents." Trafficking with the natives appears to have far more engaged the missionaries' attention than

preaching the Gospel. Marsden himself purchased 200 acres of rich land for twelve axes. In 1819 five others, described as "missionaries and artisans," purchased 13,000 acres for forty-eight axes. The chairman of the "Church Mission" secured for his share 22,000 acres.[1]

Another aspect of the activity of self-styled "missionaries" is brought before us in the following narrative taken (somewhat abbreviated) from Mr. Poynton's records of those early days :—

Hearing of the arrival of a Catholic bishop, those missionaries laid aside the Bible and took to Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Moreover, they told the natives that if the Bishop were to remain in this country, he would take all their land from them and exterminate them ; therefore he, the Bishop, must be got rid of. A number of Maoris in hostile array came up the river in their canoes and set themselves down in front of the Bishop's house. The chief called upon Poynton to deliver up the stranger, threatening that otherwise all his friends would be massacred. Poynton asked where were the white men who had sent them to do this bloody work ; for if it was a good work, why did they not come and do it themselves ! The chief replied that they feared they might be shot. Poynton said : "They judged rightly ; I would have shot the first one of them that would attack me, as I would shoot a dog ! In the meantime the Bishop in his cassock had quite fearlessly come to join them. His noble and intrepid demeanour and a judicious harangue by Poynton, in which more soothing arguments were mingled with threats of terrible French vengeance, produced considerable effect on the Maoris. They consented to withdraw on condition that Poynton would accompany them to the headquarters of the Wesleyan mission. He did so. Negotiations then began and lasted for some weeks, nothing being left unsaid or undone by those hostile missionaries to egg on the natives to persevere in their intent to exterminate the newly arrived strangers, who were designated 'idolaters'. But the cause of the Catholics continued to gain the day, and the once hostile chief refused at last to have any further part in molesting the true Christian chief who had come to them.

A new personage of importance appeared on the scene in 1840. This was Dr. Ullathorne (then not yet a bishop) who visited the Northern Island "Bay of Islands" in

[1] Moran *op. cit.*, p. 897.

1840 in company with Dr. Polding. In his Autobiography he has left an interesting picture of the dawnings of New Zealand's day of Faith. He describes the mission at Kirarika : it was a town in three small pieces—the native village, the British settlement, the French mission-station.

> The Fathers [he says] of the Marist Congregation received us with joy. Their residence was of wood, and their little wooden church, bright with green paint, stood adjoining ; small as it was, it had its font, confessional and all appointments complete.

He found that the rival missioners had been hard at work to stir up hatred and fear. The following is given as an illustration of their proceedings :—

> A crowd of natives were listening to a man who was preaching to them from a stump. He had a flaming torch in his hand, which he waved about with great energy. He told them that the Catholics were a cruel people who worshipped wooden gods ; that they tore people to pieces with wild horses if they would not be Catholics ; that they took fire and burnt them under their arms and on their bodies—which acts he imitated with his torch. In short, he applied the history of the pagan persecutions to the Catholic Church.[1]

One could quote much more of interest from this vivid record of travel. Dr. Ullathorne found the Maori converts more earnest in their liturgical efforts than agreeable in their singing. Yet their language (he noted) is far from unmusical. It avoids all combinations of consonants and thus, like Italian, comes to run mainly on vowels. The word "episcopus," which must surely have gone through a greater number of strange transformations than any other word in human speech, has become in Maori *picopo*, and does duty also for "Catholic." An Australian (or English-speaking) Catholic is a *picopo poroyáxono*, that is —etymologically—"episcopus from Port Jackson." A French Catholic is a *picopo wee wee* (*oui, oui !*).

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[1] There were, undoubtedly, some non-Catholic missionaries of a higher and better type. Bishop Selwyn, the first Anglican bishop (1836-1861), was a man of unselfish zeal and a defender of the rights of the natives.

The extreme poverty of the missioners struck Dr. Ullathorne, especially in contrast with the competition for land and wealth that went on all around them. Mgr. Pompallier had been appointed the Marist Fathers' religious Superior as well as Bishop, and his somewhat reckless way of plunging into new enterprises and pouring out his small resources brought them constant occasions for self-denial. He records himself (for example) how he visited Fr. Bataillon on Wallis Island and found him hatless, shoeless, ragged and very ill-nourished. Some Fathers had no food for long intervals but shark-flesh and fern-root; some used to walk about and travel barefoot in order to have shoes to say Mass in. But the rich reward of their sacrifices and sufferings was reaped in the success of their labours to gain souls. The solidity of the hold they secured on their converts was shown by the respect and affection which continued to be shown to them even during the lamentable wars between Maoris and Europeans —constantly varied by wars among the Maoris themselves —which desolated the islands from 1842 (but especially from 1860) to 1869 and sadly retarded the progress of Christianity.

In 1848 Wellington became a separate vicariate of the diocese of Auckland, its missions being entrusted to the Society of Mary. In 1850 important auxiliaries came to the help of New Zealand's Christianity—the first nuns. Mgr. Pompallier, in the course of a home tour, had visited the Convent of Mercy in Carlow, and had induced the Superior, Mother Cecilia Maher, to leave home and country for the sake of his distant mission. Seven other members of her Congregation followed her example. Their little wooden convent, set up after long travels and many trials, became a centre of useful activities and ere long a parent of new foundations. We may here continue our notices of religious women in New Zealand. In 1871 ten Dominican nuns from Sion Hill near Dublin arrived, and, under trying circumstances which we shall presently return to, entered

on their educational work in the remote settlement of Dunedin, then raised to sudden importance by the rush for gold. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart opened their first school at Timaru in 1880; on this followed their establishment at Remuera (Auckland); both are up to the highest European standards. The Australian Congregation of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart, founded by Mother Mary of the Cross (McKillop), began in 1883 their New Zealand foundations, which have greatly prospered. In 1884 was inaugurated at Wellington the Congregation of Our Lady of Compassion, to which New Zealand itself had the honour of giving birth. Its foundress, Mother Marie Aubert, who still lives, was born over eighty years ago near Lyons. As a girl she felt a desire to become a Carmelite nun, but was dissuaded from this design by the saintly Curé of Ars. Coming to New Zealand as a school-teacher, she presently became a fearless evangelist among the Maoris, amongst whom she lived for years, leading a life full of hardships, but treated by them with reverence and rewarded by spiritual successes. Gathering companions about her, she gradually shaped the form of religious life which now she and her congregation, with the approval of the Holy See, are making fruitful in good works of many kinds.

The year 1871 marks the beginnings of the southern diocese of Dunedin. In 1860 there had not been a single priest, church or school in that region. It had been colonized by Scotchmen; the Free Kirk had its untrammelled way and boasted of excluding all "pagans and papists." It is, then, surprising that ten years later the representations of some perhaps over-ardent people had got Dunedin made the see of a Catholic bishop; and it is not surprising that the new bishop wrote soon after his arrival as follows:—

> This diocese is almost entirely destitute of the necessaries of Divine worship, such as altars, vestments, chalices, suitable altar ornaments, etc. In fact, so great are our wants, so almost entire

the destitution that prevails—a destitution, so far as a sufficient number of missionaries is concerned, likely to increase for a time—that it has become a serious question with us if we should not at once inform the Holy See that the representations made in order to secure the erection of this see were almost entirely without foundation, and that there is no provision here for a bishop or religious institutions.

But fortunately he was not the man to be conquered by such difficulties. Patrick Moran (not to be confounded with his more celebrated namesake of Sydney) was a native of Co. Wicklow; in early life he had been a curate of the diocese of Dublin; devoting himself to a missionary career at the Cape of Good Hope, he there laboured successfully for thirteen years, becoming bishop and vicar-apostolic. Now at Dunedin he put his shoulder to the wheel, and with his few but devoted helpers, men and women, and making appeals to his scattered flock to which they finely responded, he soon put a different face on his unpromising diocese. A remarkable tale of progress followed. In the course of twenty years the Catholic population had grown to 22,000, while thirty-seven churches, including a handsome cathedral, twenty-six schools, and a balance-sheet of £80,000 raised and expended on religious purposes, attested the success of Dr. Moran's administration.

We may here notice another Irish pioneer of New Zealand, whose work began much earlier than the Bishop of Dunedin's, though it lasted nearly as long as his. Fr. James McDonald, a native of Co. Kilkenny, joined Mgr. Pompallier in 1850, and at once devoted himself to the service of the Maoris. He made himself all things to his flock, adopting their mode of life, travelling with them from place to place, living on their diet of fish and rice, and drinking no spirituous liquor. Under four successive bishops he held the title and office of vicar-general and also the privilege of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, never quitting the service of his Maoris.

It is claimed, however, that a Fr. O'Rourke from the west of Ireland was the first to preach to the Maoris in their own tongue. It is a curious fact that the first beginnings of writing among the Maoris were due to their Catholic missionaries. They had previously never noted their language in any kind of script and possessed no alphabet.

About 1860 the first discoveries of gold brought a rush of immigrants to New Zealand, hastened developments, and excited many hopes which were not fulfilled. More profound were the consequences—quite evil, apart from the over-ruling power of Providence—of the war which desolated the country and particularly the missions to the natives, from 1860 to 1869. In 1868 Mgr. Pompallier, broken down by labours and sorrows, retired to Europe, where he died in 1870. Auckland had consequently no resident bishop from 1868 till 1871, when Dr. T. W. Croke, afterwards so well known as Archbishop of Cashel, came out, just after assisting at the concluding sessions of the Vatican Council. His five years of episcopate are still remembered as a time of able administration. The large pioneer ways of Mgr. Pompallier had left behind them heavy debts and other difficulties, with which, however, Dr. Croke's energy was well able to deal. He returned to Ireland, however, in 1874; and a new interregnum unhappily began, which did not end till 1879. The appointment made in that year was a remarkable one. Walter Steins was nearly seventy years old, a Jesuit, and bore already the title of Archbishop. A native of Amsterdam, educated at St. Acheul (Amiens), he had done excellent work for religion and education at Bombay and at Calcutta, occupying successively these important sees. But failure in health compelled him to return to Europe. Recovering there, he became once more eager for foreign fields of labour, and in 1879 was sent by the Holy See to Auckland. His work there was admirable, but too soon cut short—largely in consequence of his unremitting activities. On a certain Sunday in 1881 he preached three

sermons in three different languages; next day he was seriously ill. Finding there was no hope of recovery, he sailed for Sydney and sought quiet among his Jesuit brethren. There in a few months he died—not however till a false rumour of his death had caused his obsequies to be prepared at Calcutta and had given him the amusement of reading some obituary notices of his life and labours. After his many wanderings his bones rest in the Jesuit enclosure at Gore Hill Cemetery, Sydney.

Dr. Steins was succeeded at Auckland by Dr. Tuck, an English Benedictine. In 1909 began the episcopate of Dr. H. W. Cleary, a native of Enniscorthy, who has adorned his New Zealand See by his brilliant talents. His name may remind us in particular of the growth and development in this new country of Catholic Journalism —a growth and development to which Dr. Moran of Dunedin first gave an impetus, but to which Dr. Cleary, as editor first of the *New Zealand Tablet*, then of the *Month*, has notably contributed. There are, perhaps, few countries where Catholics, in proportion to their numbers and opportunities, have so steadily and effectively availed themselves of the power of the press.

This topic leads one on naturally to the still bigger question of education. It may well be supposed that the Church in New Zealand, as well as elsewhere, has had to fight a battle for her right to educate; and in fact the battle began in the earliest days and continues up to the present. "I at once began a school," was the pregnant record of many a pioneer missionary: the "chapel-school," still a notable feature in hundreds of solitary Australasian landscapes, arose, often to be the only place of education for all the children around, of whatever religion. But such services were easily forgotten, while, from 1850 on, the minds of English Protestant authorities began to set steadily in the direction of secular education; Catholic schools—however meritorious, useful, or necessary —were refused support. That evil policy, fruitful of all

that can lead to the ruin of nations, has, on the whole, held its own, as in Australia, as in America, so in New Zealand, up to this day. Against it the Church, while other religious denominations bow the head more or less meekly, unchangingly protests; and Catholics continue to build and maintain free schools quite on a level with those of the State, thus paying a double tax for education.

We have seen how the diocese of Wellington was formed out of that of Auckland in 1848: it remains to trace the history of what has become New Zealand's primatial see. In 1860 it became an independent diocese, the city about the same time (1864) gaining importance as the official civic capital. Its first bishop was Mgr. Viard, a native of Lyons, professed a Marist in 1839, a missionary in Oceania for thirty years, combining energetic labours with a scrupulous attention to his religious duties. By 1865 he had completed a cathedral at Wellington. It was of wood and less beautiful than one constructed without regard to probable earthquake disturbances, which in this region are of common occurrence.[1] The same year witnessed the ordination at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, of the young Marist who was destined to succeed Mgr. Viard—Francis Redwood. To him we must now return. He owed his early training to a notable pioneer missioner, Fr. Garin, S.M., who for long years gave a vigorous lead to Catholic life in the Nelson region of the South Island. On the day of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1854, young Redwood left home and friends for the strange life of a French College, destined not to return till after twenty years, and then as bishop. He became acquainted with Ireland, teaching Latin and Greek at Dundalk Marist College in 1863 and theology later on at

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[1] One day seventy years ago the whole foreshore of Wellington rose some eight feet and, after a short interval, subsided again for less than half that distance. After a fortnight of tremors and uncertainty it remained, happily, fixed on its new level.

Leeson Street, Dublin. Along with more solid acquirements he developed considerable skill as a violinist. He became noted as a preacher. But his health having given way, he was ordered for a change to Rome.

When the young bishop began his work at Wellington in 1874, his diocese included a region somewhat larger than Ireland, besides the remote Chatham Islands—a region but partially explored, not to say colonized. Roads were scarce and rough, often mere bridle-tracks, and even when more artificially laid, liable to be turned into ravines and gullies by sudden rains and floods. Many lay along ocean beaches and occasioned the death of many a traveller in quicksands or sudden tide-races. But the Bishop of Wellington—to quote from his own records—was resolved to keep in personal touch with every corner of his diocese where there was a human being; so, year out and year in, he faced, on horseback, wind and snow and pitiless drenching in rain or in rivers, not to speak of the fatigues of travel prolonged for continuous days or weeks, in an equipment at first sight more suggestive of a "digger" on the tramp than of a bishop.

So began, so continued, an episcopate of fifty years. By degrees, the development and civilisation of the island, the motor-car and other modern inventions, have brought in easier and more conventional methods of episcopal visitation.[1] Great changes meanwhile worked themselves out in the Church of New Zealand. In 1885 its hierarchy was definitely organized, Wellington (since 1864 the civil capital) becoming the primatial see, and Dr. Redwood received the pallium as archbishop. The previous year he had inaugurated the fine Marist College of St. Patrick at Wellington. In 1898 his cathedral was destroyed by fire, but a new one, in a handsome classical style, was soon commenced and is now completed. To-day the archdiocese possesses 128 churches, 113 priests, 29 religious brothers,

[1] Dr. Cleary, of Auckland, has been the first bishop to visit his diocese in an aeroplane.

530 nuns, 19 higher schools and colleges, 56 primary schools, many orphanages and other charitable institutions. 9,500 children are receiving Catholic education. The Maori Catholic population is over 2,000, nearly one-fourth of the total Maori population. The Jubilarian Archbishop is still a centre of energy.

The other dioceses can tell similar tales of progress. In Auckland, for example, when Dr. Croke made his first visitation in 1872, there were but eleven fixed missions in the vast area, with twenty other stations occasionally visited, all the work being done by sixteen priests, assisted by twenty-eight Sisters of Mercy. The Maori missions had fallen into complete decay, except for the intermittent visits, baptisms of children, etc., still carried on by the heroic Dr. McDonald. But to-day Auckland has forty-two parishes served by seventy priests; three hundred nuns are busy in various good works; in forty Catholic schools six or seven thousand children are being educated; the Catholic Maori population amounts to three thousand.

Some elements of progress not yet mentioned must not be wholly omitted. In the first place the missionary work done for some decades past by the Mill Hill Fathers among the Maoris and others of the diocese of Auckland; there are at present twenty Fathers, of Dutch nationality. The Redemptorists have a church and mission-centre in Wellington. The older Orders are somewhat notable by their absence. Benedictines and Jesuits have both appeared, but have been unable to effect permanent settlements. It is to be regretted that the contemplative religious life is not yet represented by any house of men or women. But, undoubtedly, "there is a time for all things"; progress cannot be made in all directions at once; and at the close of this brief survey it would be absurd to allow any discoverable shortcomings to dim the general impression of the splendour of the work achieved, and of admiration for the men who, under God, have achieved it.

G. O'NEILL.

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON AS AN ECONOMIST

BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

IN the course of his long life Dr. Johnson touched, at one time or another, on almost every topic, and, if his opinions are not always consistent, they are at least never uninteresting. From an examination of the subjects which he discussed, with his pen or with his tongue, we may derive a pretty accurate idea of the matters that were engaging people's minds at the time. Any topic that looms large in the recorded accounts of the doctor's writings or conversation must, we may be sure, have been one that people talked pretty generally about, and, on the other hand, any topic with which Johnson dealt but casually and infrequently did not arouse much attention or curiosity in his circle. It is not without interest for the student of economic history to inquire how far the sage was drawn into discussing economic questions, as the result of such an enquiry will enable him to form an opinion as to the extent to which such questions engaged the attention of the learned society of the age.

If one were asked for an offhand opinion on this matter, one would feel inclined to answer that a circle which included in its number no less a person than Adam Smith must have devoted a good deal of thought to the new science which was being created in its midst; but the fact seems to have been that economic topics were scarcely mentioned at all in the famous Club, and that Johnson displayed but little interest in them or understanding of them either in his conversation or his writings. There is preserved a long list of the works which he projected but never wrote; but, although this list contains numerous works on divinity, philosophy, history, literature and poetry, there is nothing in it to suggest that he ever

contemplated turning his mind to any subject that could be even approximately described as economic.[1] There is also in existence a catalogue of Johnson's library, which contained no works of any kind on economics.[2] The conclusion to which we are driven is that Johnson devoted no attention to the gloomy science, which he had never studied and of the very existence of which he was probably ignorant.

This lack of curiosity in the subject which was destined to divide the intellectual society of the following generation into warring factions seems all the more remarkable when we remember that Johnson was in constant association with Adam Smith, who certainly must be acquitted of any charge of boring his friends by shoving his own subject down their throats. A fuller knowledge, however, of the relations between these two great men may serve to account for the indifference of the one towards the mighty achievement of the other. The fact is that the two philosophers got thoroughly on each other's nerves, and were animated by a hearty mutual dislike. As early as 1763, Johnson told Boswell that he had met Adam Smith on one occasion and that they did not take to each other.[3] Years afterwards Strahan remembered this interview, which had taken place in his house and during which he had felt himself obliged to remonstrate with Johnson for his intolerable rudeness towards Smith.[4] Mr. Rae, in his *Life of Adam Smith*, argues that this unhappy altercation took place during the Scotsman's visit to London in 1761.

The incident gave rise to a legendary anecdote which was given to the world by three independent authorities of such importance as Sir Walter Scott, Lord Jeffrey, and

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[1] *Life* IV 381. The following abbreviations will be used throughout this paper ; *Life*, *Boswell's Life of Johnson* including *The Tour to the Hebrides*, edited by G. B Hill, 6 vols. ; *Miscellanies*, *Johnsonian Miscellanies* edited by G. B. Hill, 2 vols. *Letters*, *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, edited by G. B. Hill, 2 vols. ; *Works*, *The Works of Samuel Johnson*, edited by Arthur Murphy, 6 vols., Dublin, 1793.

[2] A. W. Hatton : *Dr. Johnson's Library* in *Johnson Club Papers*, p. 95.

[3] *Life*, I, p. 427. [4] *Life*, III, p. 331.

Bishop Wilberforce, but which has been proved by recent researches to have no foundation in fact. This story refers to a meeting in Glasgow at which the two philosophers attacked each other baldheaded and were both disgracefully rude. As Johnson however was only in Glasgow for one day in the course of his whole life, and as Adam Smith was in London on that day, the story can be shown to be fictional. "All we know," Mr. Rae concludes, "is that apparently at their very first meeting those two philosophers did, at Strahan's house in London in September 1761, have a personal altercation of an outrageous character, at which, if not the very strong words reported by Scott, then words quite as strong must manifestly have passed between them, that their host declared Johnson to be entirely in the wrong, and that Smith withdrew from the company."[1]

The antipathy between these two great men was personal and did not extend to each other's publications. Smith had reviewed *The Dictionary* in the first number of the short-lived *Edinburgh Review* (1755), and had given it a warm and appreciative welcome.[2] When the *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776, Johnson defended its author against the charge that he could not write well on a subject of which he had had no personal experience any more than a lawyer could write upon medicine. "A man who has never been engaged in trade himself," Johnson replied, "may undoubtedly write well upon trade, and there is nothing which requires more to be illustrated by philosophy than trade does. As to mere wealth, that is to say, money, it is clear that one nation or one individual cannot increase its store but by making another poorer; but trade procures what is more valuable, the reciprocation of the peculiar advantages of different countries. A merchant seldom thinks but of his own particular trade. To write a good book upon it a man must have extensive views."[3] There is no evidence, however, that Johnson ever read

[1] *Life of Adam Smith*, p. 157. [2] Rae, *op. cit. p.* 122. [3] *Life* II, 430.

the *Wealth of Nations*; Dr. Hill thinks that he did not, and it certainly made no impression on him if he did.[1]

In view of the unhappy relations which marred the intercourse of these two great men—the greatest Englishman and the greatest Scotchman of the age—it is easy to understand that Johnson neglected to study the science in which Smith displayed such extraordinary brilliance. While, however, Johnson never devoted his great intellect to the orderly study of economic questions, it was impossible that such questions could escape being dealt with by a philosopher who was interested in the whole range of human activity, and who never hesitated to hold or to express an opinion on every subject that arose, nor flinched from writing on any topic for which he was promised payment. This is said in no disparaging sense; the doctor was the complete journalist, and was, besides, too poor to pick and choose. We consequently find various utterances on economic matters scattered throughout his conversation and his writings, and some account of them may prove of interest.

In the preface which he contributed to *The Preceptor, containing a General Plan of Education*, Johnson explained the part which mercantile and commercial knowledge should occupy in an educational scheme. "Thus far the work," he writes, "is composed for the use of scholars, merely as they are men. But it was thought necessary to introduce something that might be particularly adapted to that country for which it is designed; and therefore a discourse has been added upon *trade* and *commerce*, of which it becomes every man of this nation to understand at least the general principles, as it is impossible that any should be high or low enough not to be in some degree affected by their declension or prosperity." He then proceeds to outline the matters that call for attention in such a discussion:—"What changes of property are advantageous, or when the balance of trade is on our

[1] *Life* II, 430 n.

side; what are the products or manufactures of other countries; and how far one nation may in any species of traffic obtain or preserve superiority over another." He concludes by pointing out that "the theory of trade is yet but little understood, and therefore the practice is often of little real advantage to the public," and gives a little bibliography which is interesting as it indicates the extent and nature of his own reading on the subject. It includes *Mun upon Foreign Trade*, *Sir Joseph Child*, *Locke upon Coin*, *Davenant's Treatises*, *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, and *Gee's*[1] *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain*.

In 1751 Johnson contributed the preface to Rolt's *Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*. Boswell's account of the circumstances in which this preface was composed suggests that it was thrown off by Johnson in a leisure hour simply to oblige his publisher. "'Sir,' said he, 'I never saw the man and never read the book. The booksellers wanted a preface to a Dictionary of Trade and Commerce. I knew very well what such a Dictionary should be, and wrote a Preface accordingly.'" Other accounts, however, would seem to indicate that the preface was written in lieu of a very much more ambitious project, namely, the Dictionary itself. Kearsley relates the following anecdote:—

"Johnson, after the publication of his English Dictionary, made a proposal to a number of booksellers convened for that purpose of writing a Dictionary of Trade and Commerce. This proposal went round the room without any answer, when a well-known son of the trade, remarkable for the abruptness of his manner, replied: 'Why, doctor, what the devil do you know of trade and commerce'? The doctor very modestly answered: 'Why, sir, not much, I confess, in the practical line—but I believe I could glean from different authors of authority on the subject such materials as would answer the purpose very well."[2]

Arthur Murphy in his *Essay on the Life and Genius of Johnson* corroborates this story in substance:—

"Mr. Hamilton, who was at that time an eminent painter and

[1] *Works* I, 318–9. [2] *Miscellanies* II, 162.

well acquainted with Dr. Johnson, remembers that he engaged on a commercial dictionary, and, as appears by the receipts in his possession, was paid his price for several sheets; but he soon relinquished the undertaking. It is probable that he found himself not sufficiently versed in that department of knowledge." [1]

The *Preface*,[2] at any rate, displays no very deep or intimate study of commercial principles, but consists rather of truisms couched in that elegant language with which Johnson could lend dignity to his very ignorance. He assures the reader that "there never was, from the earliest ages, a time in which trade so much engaged the attention of mankind or commercial gain was sought with such general emulation," and defends the form in which the work is arranged because "commerce comprises innumerable particulars unconnected with each other, among which there is no reason why any should be first or last better than is furnished by the letters that compose their names." He proceeds to explain that the whole subject-matter is divided into the materials, the places, and the means of traffic. The materials are whatever is bought and sold, "and include every manufacture of art and almost every production of nature"; the places of trade comprise "all ports, cities or towns where staples are established, manufactures are wrought, or any commodities are bought and sold advantageously"; and the means of trade, to which the volume is principally devoted, include "all the knowledge and practice necessary to the skilful and successful conduct of commerce." The chief of the means of trade is money, "about which our late refinements in traffic have made the knowledge extremely difficult," we are told, but the learned author does nothing to diminish our difficulties. The *Preface* concludes with some general observations in the best Johnsonian manner, and the impression left by the whole composition is that the author had devoted but the smallest measure of attention to the volume which he was

[1] *Miscellanies* I, 412. [2] *Works* I, 321–7.

introducing to the public. He shows no evidence of any study of commercial questions, and, however one may admire Johnson's literary dexterity, it is impossible to agree with Boswell's eulogium that "he displayed such a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the subject as might lead the reader to think that he had devoted all his life to it." [1]

A few years later, in 1766, the question of the parliamentary bounty on the export of corn was under discussion. The harvest had been bad, and the high price of corn had led to riots in some parts of England. The government of the day was much concerned to devise measures which would relieve the scarcity. Johnson was at the time a friend, or rather a client, of the statesman known as Single Speech Hamilton, who, desiring to clear his own mind upon the thorny subject of the export bounty on corn which was to come up for discussion in parliament, asked Johnson to write him a short memorandum on the subject. The result was a little tract entitled *Considerations on Corn*, which was never published in Johnson's lifetime, but was given to the world for the first time in 1808 when it was printed as an appendix to Hamilton's *Parliamentary Logick*. This volume was edited by Malone, who says of Johnson's contribution that it was the first time that the doctor appeared as a teacher in an important branch of political economy, and it "shows how readily his great mind could apply itself to subjects to which the general course of his studies had little relation."

Considerations on Corn opens by insisting on the widespread anxiety occasioned by the prevailing scarcity.

> The interruption of trade, though it may distress part of the community, leaves the rest power to communicate relief; the decay of one manufacture may be compensated by the advancement of another; a defeat may be repaired by victory; a rupture with one nation may be balanced by an alliance with another. These

[1] *Life* I, 359.

are partial and slight misfortunes which leave us still in the possession of our chief comforts. But Scarcity is an evil that extends at once to the whole community; that neither leaves quiet to the poor nor safety to the rich; that in its approaches distresses all the subordinate ranks of mankind, and in its extremity must subvert government, drive the populace upon their rulers, and end in bloodshed and massacre.

The tract then proceeds to discuss whether the scarcity was due to the bounty on the export of corn, which (it was alleged) exercised "a necessary and perpetual tendency to pour the grain of this country into other nations," and reaches the conclusion that the true cause was not the bounty, but the failure of the harvest, not alone in England but abroad. Indeed, according to Johnson, the effect of the bounty was that England suffered less from the scarcity than her continental neighbours owing to the increase of tillage for which it was responsible. He next challenges the proposition that "exportation, though it increases our produce, diminishes our plenty, as the merchant has more encouragement for exportation than the farmer for agriculture," which he condemns as "a paradox which all the principles of commerce and all the experience of policy concur to confute." He points out that the bounty ceases when corn reaches a certain price, and cannot therefore be held responsible for any exportation that takes place at a higher price. It is always possible, in case of scarcity at home, he continues, to close the ports, and if this course be adopted the bounty will have operated to prevent a famine.

It is in all cases to be considered what events are physical and certain and what are political and arbitrary. The first effect of the bounty is the increase of agriculture, and by consequence the promotion of plenty. This is an effect physically good and morally certain. While men are desirous to be rich, where there is much profit there will be diligence. If much corn can be sold, much will be raised. The second effect of the bounty is the diminution by expectation of that product which is occasioned. But this effect is political and arbitrary; we have it wholly in our own

hands; we can prescribe its limits and regulate its quantity. Whenever we feel want or fear it, we retain our corn, and feed ourselves upon that which was sown and raised to feed other nations. It is, perhaps, impossible for human wisdom to go further than to continue a law of which the good is certain and uniform, and the evil, though possible in itself, yet always subject to certain and effectual restraints. This is the true state of the bounty upon corn: it certainly and necessarily increases our crops and can never lessen but by our own permission.

The remaining pages of the tract contain nothing more than an amplification of this argument, namely, that the bounty, by encouraging agriculture, has minimized the risk of famine and has lowered the price of corn. "Since the bounty was given," Johnson concludes, "multitudes eat wheat who did not eat it before, and yet the price of wheat has abated. What more is to be hoped from any change of practice? An alteration cannot make our condition better, and is therefore very likely to make it worse."

The book in which this tract was published was savagely attacked by Lord Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*,[1] but Johnson's contribution was excepted from the general denunciation. "It was written," Jeffrey says, "in 1766 and at a period when subjects of this kind were but imperfectly understood even by those who devoted themselves to their study; it is truly admirable to see with what vigorous alacrity his powerful mind could apply itself to an investigation so foreign from his habitual occupations. We do not know that a more sound and enlightened argument, in favour of the bounty on exportation, could be collected from all that has since been published on the subject; and, convinced, as we ourselves are, of the radical insufficiency of that argument, it is impossible not to be delighted with the clearness and force of the statement."

Apart from these two short and unimportant compositions, Johnson did not contribute anything to what may

[1] Vol. XV, p. 163.

be described as economic literature. It is nevertheless possible to gather his opinion on a number of economic matters from various passages both in his conversation and in his works; but, as we have said before, these do not indicate that he devoted any particular attention or study to the subject which, in the following generation, was to play such an outstanding part in public and private discussion. On the main motive which animated men to every form of economic endeavour, Johnson was quite clear; self-interest alone could stimulate exertions which mere benevolence or altruism would fail to arouse. "To act from pure benevolence is not possible for private beings. Human benevolence is mingled with vanity, self-interest or some other motive."[1] Mankind is swayed by a universal desire for gain. "There is scarcely any sentiment in which, amidst the innumerable varieties of inclination that nature or accident have scattered in the world, we find greater numbers concurring than in the wish for riches; a wish indeed so prevalent that it may be considered as universal and transcendental, as the desire in which all other desires are included, and of which the various purposes which actuate mankind are only subordinate species and different modifications."[2] Johnson laments that the pursuit of this overweening desire frequently causes disregard for the precepts of morality, and goes so far as to say that, "of the various acts by which riches may be obtained, the greater part are at the first view irreconcilable with the laws of virtue, and practised, not only in neglect, but in defiance of faith and justice."[3]

It is because he realizes the force of selfish motives in economic endeavour that Johnson condemns communism as an attractive ideal unattainable in the world of actual men. "Community of possession must include spontaneity of production; for what is obtained by labour will be of right the property of him by whose labour it is gained.

[1] *Life* III, 48. [2] *Works* III, 245. [3] *Ibid.* p. 248.

And while a rightful claim to pleasure or to affluence must be procured either by slow industry or uncertain hazard, there will always be multitudes whose cowardice or impatience incite to more safe and more speedy methods, who strive to pluck the fruit without cultivating the tree, and to share the advantages of victory without partaking the danger of the battle."[1] Indeed Johnson's robust common sense made him distrustful of all utopias. When Boswell taxed him with laughing at schemes of political improvement, he replied: "Why, sir, most schemes of political improvement are very laughable things." And he said on the same occasion: "Let fanciful men do as they will, it is difficult to disturb the system of life."[2]

Johnson never tired of preaching the virtues of frugality with the earnestness of one who had himself experienced want. A whole paper in the *Rambler* is devoted to the subject, and contains three mottoes which, it must be admitted, would, if practised, help to increase the happiness of humanity; they are, first, that a man's voluntary expense should not exceed his revenue; second, that uncertain profits should not be anticipated; and third, that no man should squander against his inclination.[3] "Make an impartial estimate of your revenue, and whatever it is live upon less." He wrote to Boswell: "Resolve never to be poor. Frugality is not only the basis of quiet but of beneficence. No man can help others that wants help himself; we must have enough before we have to spare."[4] He is nevertheless no Scrooge or miser; while he rightly insists that saving should precede spending,[5] he no less strongly urges that what should be aimed at is the happy mean between parsimony and extravagance. "A man who both spends and saves money is the happiest man because he hath both enjoyments."[6] The *Rambler* devotes a paper to the condemnation of avarice,[7] which, however, Johnson

[1] *Ibid.* p. 249. [2] *Life* II, 102. [3] *Works* II, 553–6. [4] *Life* IV, 183.
[5] *Works* I, 381. [6] *Life* III, 322. [7] *Works* II, 557.

considered as a lesser vice than prodigality, because it shows a preference of the future to the present.[1] On the other hand, he said that it is better to live rich than to die rich.[2] The true *via media* to be aimed at is that between economy and waste—" economy on the one hand by which a certain income is made to maintain a man genteely, and waste on the other by which on the same income another man lives shabbily."[3]

Johnson was too broadminded a man ever himself to feel the temptation to avarice, and he more than once laid stress on the folly of looking to riches alone for happiness. " Getting money is not all a man's business ; to cultivate kindness is a valuable part of the business of life,"[4] and he insisted that the possession of wealth could abolish but a single evil—poverty.[5] He thought that money-making tended to make a man narrow, as it required " vigorous parts, though concentrated to a point." [6] But it kept people out of mischief—" There are few ways in which a man can be more innocently employed than in getting money." [7]

Johnson had no patience with people who complained of the evils due to luxury, but consistently maintained that a high standard of living is desirable both by producing happiness in itself and by stimulating labour in production. Luxury, he rightly insisted, can never reach the great mass of humanity, and in so far as it does so, it is beneficial rather than injurious. He admitted that a too great development of commerce in a nation might damage the military spirit of the people, but pointed out in answer to Goldsmith that this was not the result of luxury.

Many things that are false are transmitted from book to book and gain credit in the world. One of these is the cry against the evil of luxury. Now the truth is that luxury produces much good. Take the luxury of buildings in London. Does it not produce real advantage in the convenience and elegance of accommodation,

[1] Piozzi. Anecdotes. *Miscellanies* I, 251. [2] *Life* III, 304. [3] *Life* III, 265. [4] *Life* III, 182. [5] *Life* III, 360. [6] *Life* III, 382. [7] *Life* III, 323.

and this is all from the exertion of industry? A man gives half a guinea for a dish of green peas. How much gardening does this occasion? how many labourers must the competition to have such things early in the market keep in employment? You are much surer that you do good when you *pay* money to those who work than when you *give* money merely in charity. Suppose the ancient luxury of a dish of peacock's brains were to be revived, how many carcases would be left to the poor at a cheap rate; and as to the rout that is made about people who are ruined by extravagance, it is no matter to the nation that some individuals suffer. When so much general productive energy is the consequence of luxury, the nation does not care though there are debtors in gaol; nay, they would not care though their creditors were there too.[1]

Of course, this line of argument is full of fallacies; the ground is neatly shifted half way through, and what is defended in the first place as benefiting individuals, is defended in the second place because it benefits the community, in comparison with which the interests of individuals are unimportant.

What really seems to have occupied Johnson's mind when he was discussing this subject was that luxurious consumption encouraged industry and invention. "It is in refinement and elegance that the civilized man differs from the savage; a great part of our industry and all our ingenuity is exercised in producing pleasure," he insisted; [2] and he went so far as to argue that the inhabitants of Otaheite, who were said to pluck their bread from a tree, were less fortunate than the Englishman who had to produce his loaf by "ploughing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, threshing, grinding and baking." [3] It is perfectly true that people are better working than idle, but Johnson did not understand that different kinds of employments were productive of different degrees of advantage, and it is unquestionable that his opinion on the subject was largely formed by recollection of what he had read in Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*. "He had been a great reader of Mandeville," Mrs. Piozzi says in her *Anecdotes*, and she refers to Mandeville in another place as "his old

[1] *Life* III, 55–6. [2] *Life* III, 282. [3] *Life* II, 248.

tutor." [1] Mrs. Seward once asked him openly if his remarks on luxury did not amount to the doctrine of "private vices public benefits" to be found in the *Fable of the Bees*, and Johnson made an ingenious reply that Mandeville confused pleasures with vices, and that his doctrines would have been perfectly defensible if, instead of "private vices," he had said "private pleasures." Even a man's getting drunk, he argued, benefited the alehouse-keeper, brewer, maltster and farmer, although the mischief done to society and to his family might prove a more than counter-balancing injury. "I read Mandeville forty or perhaps fifty years ago. He did not puzzle me; he opened my views into real life very much," he said on this occasion, and there is no getting away from the conclusion that the doctor's views on the benefits of luxurious consumption were coloured all his life by what he had read in his youth in the *Fable of the Bees*.[2]

Living in the age in which he did, it was natural for Johnson to assign to agriculture a position of even greater importance than we should assign to it to-day. Though born and bred in a city, he well understood both the theory and the practice of farming.[3] In 1756, he contributed two essays on the subject to *The Visiter*, in which he puts forward the claim for agriculture to be considered the first of all industries in a manner that is almost suggestive of the physiocrats, though it is impossible that he should at that date have been acquainted with their views. "The labour of the farmer," he says, "gives employment to the manufacturer, and yields a support for the other parts of a community; it is now the spring which sets the whole grand machine

[1] *Miscellanies* I, 207.

[2] Dr. Hill says that "Johnson in his political economy seems to have been very much under Mandeville's influence," and he quotes a passage of Johnson's which bears a striking resemblance to a passage from Mandeville. *Life* III, 291–3. Mr. Kaye's edition of the *Fable of the Bees*, published after this paper was written, draws attention to the extent of Mandeville's influence on Johnson. Vol. I, pp. cxviii. and cxxxviii.

[3] Hawkin's *Life of Johnson*, p. 469, *Miscellanies* II, 118.

of commerce in motion; and the sail could not be spread without the assistance of the plough." He goes on to complain that, "though the farmers are of such utility in a State, they are in general too much disregarded among the politer kind of people in the present age." The reflections to which he is prompted on the subject are mostly of a kind common-place enough, pointed by numerous classical quotations. They include the town-dweller's usual encomium on the charms of rural life, which he nevertheless himself declines to share. It is curious to see how Johnson, who worshipped London, envied the farmer his "wise and happy state, which inclines him to justice, temperance, sobriety, sincerity and every other virtue that can dignify human nature." He was honest enough however to admit that a country life would not suit everybody. He looked on it as a sort of mental imprisonment for a man of intellectual interests, and exclaimed that "those who are content to live in the country are *fit* for the country."[1]

Coming to more practical matters, he insists on the necessity of every nation's growing its own food, and the foolishness of relying on manufacturers for the national income. "There is no way of living without the need of foreign assistance but by the product of our own land . . . . Every trading nation flourishes by the courtesy of others. We cannot compel any people to buy from us or to sell to us." He displays a slight confusion of thought when he goes on to argue that a vigorous agriculture ensures not alone independence, but also the capacity to buy any manufactured goods from foreign countries, as he seems to lose sight of the fact that such purchasing power would cease to exist if every other country were to adopt the policy of self-sufficiency in food supplies which he so strongly recommends. He is logical enough, however, not to deny to other countries the right to adopt the policy which he advocated for his own. When some-

[1] *Life* III, 338.

body complained that the suggested bounty on corn in Ireland might be prejudicial to the corn-trade of England he replied: "You talk the language of a savage; what, sir, would you prevent any people from feeding themselves, if by any honest means they can do it?"[1] He deplores the neglect of the English woods, and "cannot restrain a sigh" when he thinks of the time, in the near future, when foreign nations will be able to deprive England of her naval influence by refusing her their timber. He concludes by an exhortation to his readers not to despise or neglect agriculture, "the great art which every government ought to protect, every proprietor of lands to practise, and every inquirer into nature to improve."[2]

It is not surprising that the holder of these opinions should have had a deep and healthy respect for landed property. "It is better to have five per cent. out of land than out of money, because it is more secure."[3] He held strong opinions regarding the rights and privileges of landlords over their estates; and refused to sympathise with the cottiers in the Highlands when they complained that their rents had been raised on account of their developing the manufacture of kelp, the profits of which, they asserted, were the product of their personal labour.[4] He also refused to countenance the abolition of the tacksmen, who seem to have possessed many of the disagreeable features of the Irish middlemen of the same period, on the ground that such a step would logically lead to the "suppressing all wholesale trade, of shutting up the shops of every man who sells what he does not make, and of extruding all whose agency and profit intervene between the manufacturer and the consumer."[5] Of course the fallacy in this analogy lies in comparing agencies which add with those which do not add to the value of the commodity in which they deal. It is quite easy to conceive of cases where a middleman, standing between the landlord and the cultivating occupier, might

[1] *Life* II, 130. [2] *Works* I, 406–416. [3] *Life* IV, 164.
[4] *Journey to Western Islands. Works*, IV, 479. [5] *Ibid*, 484.

prove of benefit to the latter and to the agriculture of his district; but the circumstances in the Highlands, as in Ireland, were peculiar, and the middlemen were pure parasites in both places. It is possible that Johnson did not sufficiently appreciate the difference between English and Scottish conditions; the former he certainly understood clearly enough, as he pointed out that "land in England is an article of commerce; a tenant who pays his landlord his rent thinks himself no more obliged to him than you think yourself obliged to a man in whose shop you buy a piece of goods;"[1] but he failed to see that conditions in the Highlands were altogether different, and he made the mistake common among English writers and politicians at all times, of arguing that what is suitable for England must necessarily be suitable for Ireland or for the Western Isles.

There were certain matters, however, upon which Johnson admitted that the rights of landlords should be restrained. While he would not go so far as to insist that every landlord should reside permanently upon his estate, he insisted strongly on the disadvantages of absenteeism. When Boswell sought his opinion as to the propriety of a landlord's living in London, he replied: "Why, sir, he does no injury to his country in general, because the money which he draws from it gets back again in circulation; but to his particular district, his particular parish, he does an injury. All that he has to give away is not given to those who have the first claim to it. And though I have said that the money circulates back, it is a long time before that happens. Then, sir, a man of family and estate ought to consider himself as having the charge of a district, over which he is to diffuse civility and happiness."[2] He would certainly have strongly disapproved of the absenteeism of the Irish landlords, who spent their rents, not merely in another district, but in another country.

[1] *Life* II, 102. [2] *Life*. III, 177, 249.

The second limitation that Johnson would have imposed on the landlord's right to do what he liked with his property was in regard to clearing an estate of its inhabitants. " Nothing is less difficult," he wrote, " than to procure one convenience by the forfeiture of another. A soldier may expedite his march by throwing away his arms. To make a country plentiful by diminishing the people is an expeditious mode of husbandry; but that abundance which there is nobody to enjoy, contributes little to human happiness."[1] He makes some very strong observations on the injustice of encouraging emigration in order to allay a spirit of insurrection, which might have been studied with advantage by certain British statesmen of a later generation. " To hinder insurrection by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no subjects is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politics. To soften the obdurate, to convince the mistaken, to mollify the resentful are worthy of a statesman; but it affords a legislator little self-applause to consider that whereas there was formerly an insurrection, there is now a wilderness."[2] So great was his disapproval of the depopulation of a district that he proposed compulsory reduction of rents, if those demanded by the landlords were so great as to cause the tenants to emigrate.

Johnson was almost a forerunner of Malthus in his insistence on the way in which population tends to press on the means of subsistence. When it was suggested that Russia would become a great empire by the increase of its population, he replied: " Why, sir, I see no prospect of their propagating more. I know of no way to make them breed more than they do. It is not from reason and prudence that people marry but from inclination. A man is poor; he thinks 'I cannot be worse and so I'll e'en take Peggy.'" He considered that population would always tend to reach its maximum and would only

[1] *Journey to Western Isles. Works.* IV, 485. [2] *Ibid,* p. 493.

be kept down by a high death rate. "Nations have been more populous at one period than another owing to the people being less thinned at one period than another, whether by emigrations, war, or pestilence, not by their being more or less prolific."[1] He remarked that the most populous countries have the most destructive diseases.[2]

Johnson's sympathy with the poor was one of his most striking characteristics. He had known poverty himself, and had no patience with the well-fed people who used to argue—as they argue to-day—that poverty is a blessing in disguise. "When I was running about this town a very poor fellow, I was a great arguer for the advantages of poverty; but I was at the same time very sorry to be poor. All the arguments that are brought to represent poverty as no evil show it to be evidently a great evil. You never find people labouring to convince you that you may live very happily on a plentiful fortune,"[3] He said in a letter to Boswell: "Poverty takes away so many means of doing good, and produces so much inability to resist evil, both material and moral, that it is by all virtuous means to be avoided."[4] While he disapproved of the existing English method of poor-relief on the ground that it would have been wiser to employ the destitute on productive work,[5] he rejoiced that the poor of England were in fact better provided than in any other country of the same extent. He made a memorable observation on the subject: "When a great proportion of the people are suffered to languish in helpless misery, that country must be ill policed and wretchedly governed; a decent provision for the poor is the true test of civilization."[6]

As we remarked when dealing with the Preface to *Rolt's Dictionary*, Johnson had no very developed ideas on commercial questions but contented himself with generalities. He was well acquainted with the details

[1] *Life* II, 101. [2] *Life* III, 232–3. [3] *Life* I, 441. [4] *Life* IV, 152.
[5] *Life* IV, 3. [6] *Life* II, 130.

of individual manufactures. "His knowledge in manufactures was extensive," Stevens relates in his *Anecdotes*, "and his comprehension relative to mechanical contrivances was still more extraordinary;" he could describe in detail the processes connected with coining, brewing, tanning and the making of gunpowder.[1] Indeed, he might almost be called a practical brewer, as some of his letters to Mrs. Thrale show that he helped her with his advice in the management of her business.[2] He was inclined rather unduly to minimize the difficulties of commercial success. He wrote to Mrs. Thrale suggesting that, in the event of her husband's death, she could carry on the business. "Do not be frighted," he told her. "Trade could not be managed by those who manage it if it had much difficulty."[3] But of the principles on which trade and industry were founded, and of the rules which regulated the interchange of commodities and governed international commerce, he seems to have been entirely ignorant. He shows that he realized, however, the importance of markets, by pointing out that the growth of English manufactures was limited "not by the possibility of work, but by the possibility of sale;"[4] and he appears to have grasped the elementary proposition of the free trader, that the chief object of trade was not to enrich a country in money but in other commodities :—

> It is a mistaken notion that a vast deal of money is brought into a nation by trade. It is not so. Commodities come from commodities; but trade produces no capital accession of wealth. However, though there should be little profit in money, there is a considerable profit in pleasure, as it gives to one nation the production of another.[5]

In the numerous questions connected with the mechanism of trade and exchange Johnson appears to have had very little interest. Throughout his Scottish tour he was struck by the absence of money in the

[1] *Miscellanies* II, 325. [2] *Letters* I, 192, 194, 392, 394. [3] *Life* II, 382 n.
[4] *Works* I, 380. [5] *Life* II, 98.

Highlands, where a "money economy" had not yet altogether displaced the earlier "natural economy," and he was moved by this novel spectacle to some reflections on the uses of money in general. He remarked that money "breaks property into small parts; in towns he that has a shilling may have a piece of meat, but where there is no commerce no man can eat mutton but by killing a sheep." [1] The use of money, he thought, tended to make the lower classes less subordinate and more independent, as they no longer depended on the land-owners for their food but could buy it elsewhere. He argued that, if he wished to injure his shoeblack, he could deprive him of only a penny a day, which he would have to give to some other shoeblack instead, so that the trade as a whole would not suffer.[2] Johnson was a great believer in the benefits flowing from a plentiful supply of money, and seems to have grasped in a crude way the quantity theory, with the element of rapidity of circulation left out. "In speculation," he argues, "it seems that a smaller quantity of money, equal in value to a larger quantity, if equally divided, should produce the same effect. But it is not so in reality. Many more conveniences and elegancies are enjoyed when money is plentiful than when it is scarce," and he adds shrewdly that "perhaps a great familiarity with it, which arises from plenty, makes us more easily part with it." [3] In his desire for an abundant currency, he went so far as to say that it would be a good thing if all the land in a country were sold simultaneously, "for then that country would have as much money circulating as it is worth"; but he added that such an extreme commercial operation "would be followed by disadvantages attending a total change of proprietors." [4] His misconceptions regarding the quantity theory of value seem to have been equalled by his ignorance of the law of supply and demand. He

[1] *Journey to the Western Isles. Works.* IV, 497. [2] *Life* III, 362.
[3] *Life* V, 61. [4] *Life* II, 427.

said on one occasion that he had been very much puzzled in his youth by the question of why the interest of money is lower when money is plentiful, "for five pounds has the same proportion of value to a hundred pounds when money is plentiful as when it is scarce." A lady friend of his supplied him with the correct answer. "It is," said she, "because when money is plentiful there are so many more who have money to lend and they bid down one another." [1]

The general conclusion to which we are driven by this short examination of Johnson's writings and conversation is that he had not devoted himself to any serious or connected study of political economy. His utterances on economic questions were obviously made on the spur of the moment, without much reflection, and, oftener than not, in pursuance of his desire to get the better of his fellow conversationalist, and his writings were composed to order and were primarily potboilers. As we said in the beginning of this paper, Johnson's interests are a pretty fair reflection of the interests of the society in which he moved; he nearly always allowed other people to choose the topics of conversation, and was, as he said himself, like a ghost who never spoke but when he was spoken to. Nothing better illustrates the profound influence of Adam Smith than the silence of Johnson and his circle on all matters connected with political economy. The next generation could talk about nothing else, and it would have been impossible for Johnson to have associated with Godwin, Malthus or James Mill, as he associated with Burke, without having his mind directed incessantly to the problems of wealth and poverty. The interests of intellectual society in England were revolutionized in the course of a few years, and the cause of that revolution was the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*. Yet the only welcome that the author of this epoch-making work received from "the Grand Cham of Literature" was a sound snubbing. GEORGE O'BRIEN.

[1] *Life* III, 340.

AN IRISH AMBASSADOR AT THE SPANISH COURT

Part VII—The Ascendancy of Stukely

BY PROFESSOR DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A., PH.D.

IN the last article, for the sake of unity, we were compelled to anticipate somewhat the progress of events. It now remains for us to return to Spain and take up the threads of the negotiations at Philip's court. For the next two years Irish foreign affairs are almost entirely bound up with the fortunes of the worthless Stukely. This was inevitable; the departure of Ireland's accredited envoy from Madrid proved only too clearly the strength of his rival's position; and so firmly did he seem to be entrenched in the King's favour that the Irish hoped for great things from his influence. They were probably ignorant of his true character; but even if they were not, it was but natural that, provided Philip could be induced to aid them, they should not be particular as to the instrument he employed. Every day rumours reached them of the king's intention to send Stukely forward: an army was in readiness at Vivero to set sail at the earliest opportunity;[2] Stukely had been appointed duke of Ireland, and had received 1,200 men from Philip.[3] Cheered by such reports, the Irish chiefs, though aware of his nationality and perhaps of his character, heard of his preparations with approval and awaited his coming with ill-concealed impatience.

As their hopes increased, England's alarm correspondingly deepened. The government of Elizabeth was

[1] For Parts I.-VI. see issues of September and December, 1921, March, 1922, March and September, 1923, March, 1924.

[2] Fitzwilliam to Burghley, May 7, 1571, *Irish Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 446.

[3] John Morgan to Fitzwilliam, May 13, *ibid.*, p. 447.

showing ominous signs that even in England it was not, as some historians love to describe it, immovably grounded on the nation's good-will. The queen was not alone faced with serious internal disaffection, but also with hostility from without, for her conduct in regard to the Anjou match had deeply offended France. That this middle-aged woman, so shameless in conversation, so regardless of the proprieties in her conduct, should suddenly evince a ludicrous coyness at the idea of her impending marriage, reawakened all the old suspicions in the heart of Catherine de Medici. As a result, the Anglo-French unofficial alliance seemed on the verge of dissolution; at any moment the Queen-mother and her weak son might throw in their lot with the party of Guise, and the joint forces of France and Spain would overwhelm England and Ireland. For Elizabeth, acutely sensible of her danger, the need of the moment was friendship with Philip until she had discovered a way out of her matrimonial entanglements. France, rent with party divisions and religious animosities, she could afford to despise; but Spain was emphatically a power to be feared. Her shrewd counsellor, Burghley, warned her of the consequences of a rupture with Philip. Its king he described as "a Prince whose closet had brought forth greater victories than all his father's journeys, absolutely ruling his subjects, a people all one-hearted in religion, constant, ambitious, politic, valiant, and (which of all I like least) greatly beloved among all the discontented party of your Majesty's subjects."[1] Most assuredly, thought Elizabeth and her minister, a dangerous nation to try conclusions with; and for the time being their energies were devoted to a policy of peace and amity.

Judge, therefore, of the sentiments with which the news of Philip's entertainment of Stukely was received

[1] Burghley, "Advice to the Queen on matters of State and Religion," *Harlicum Miscellany.*

at the English court. To Elizabeth it was doubly bitter owing to her intense dislike of the man himself. Not content with losing her money, this renegade subject had now gone over to the enemy; and as long as he remained in favour, the possibility of Ireland being wrested from her grasp was brought immeasurably nearer. But more than the personal element, and more even than the fear of losing Ireland, the effect which the treatment of Stukely was bound to have on the negotiations in progress troubled the English queen. Even putting the most favourable construction on the matter—granted that Philip had no intention of employing his guest in any enterprise against her dominions—still she could not, without grave loss of dignity, continue her overtures for peace while the rebellious subject was entertained with princely honours. Considerations of policy and prestige alike dictated that Stukely's dismissal should be a condition precedent to any settlement with Spain, and Elizabeth set herself to secure it with as little rhetoric as possible.

As there was no English ambassador in Madrid, it was necessary to raise the question through Walsingham, her representative at the French court. Her method of approaching the subject was undeniably clever; she affected to disbelieve the rumour, and at the same time denounced Stukely in round terms, showing how unfounded were his ridiculous boasts and how evil his record. On the 11th of February she despatched a letter to Walsingham, part of which runs as follows:—

> We have heard and known it to be true that certain savage rebels, being men of no value, had fled out of our realm of Ireland into Spain; and to cover their lewdness, and to procure both relief for themselves and such like as they be in Ireland, they do pretend their departure out of the realm for matters of religion, when indeed they be neither of one or other religion, but given to bestiality; and yet have they with enough to show hypocrisy for their purpose. Since the first arrival of these, we know also that an Englishman, a subject of ours, namely Stukely—not un-

known, as we think, for his former prodigal life both in Spain and other places—notwithstanding great favours shewed unto him divers times upon hope of amendment and some tokens of his repentance, he did this last summer (pretending to come out of Ireland hither) suddenly turn his course into Spain ; and, as we hear, hath light in the company of the aforesaid rebels and fugitives, pretending by his superfluous expenses, which is altogether of other men's goods, to be a person of some quality and estimation, and able to do some great things in Ireland, whereas indeed he hath not the value of a marmaduc in land or livelihood, he hath so solicited the King or some about him with vain motions—as it is by him bruited, and otherwise also with some credit reported to us, which yet we do not believe—that the King will send a captain of his, such a one as Julian Romero or such like, with a number of soldiers into Ireland, to follow some vain device of those rebels. Whereof we cannot but marvel that the King or any of his Council can so lightly give any credit to such a companion as Stukely is, which could never live long in any quiet condition at home, of whom we are not disposed to say very much, because we cannot say any good of him, but may say it shall be sufficient that his condition be only enquired of, and then, we doubt not, whosoever shall know them, will take heed to adventure anything with him.[1]

In this letter, so obviously designed for Philip's ears, Elizabeth handled a delicate situation with an adroitness which we cannot but admire. She made no accusation whatever against the King ; rather she affected to spurn the idea of his being deceived by such a blatant charlatan as Stukely. With that she launched forth on an apparently irrelevant disquisition on the latter, revealing the falseness of his pretensions and hinting at his unsavoury past. It is to be noted that her account of the adventurer was quite true. To anyone who has studied her character it should be superfluous to point out that her accuracy had nothing to do with moral considerations, few could lie so unconcernedly as Elizabeth, when lying was necessary to her purpose ; but she had sufficient imagination to realise that the truth could sometimes be an effective weapon—even in intrigue. Equally clever was her plan of merely hinting at Stukely's

[1] *Compleat Ambass.*, p. 41.

disreputable history, and suggesting that Philip should discover it for himself. Had she told the full story, the adventurer might have represented, with a reasonable prospect of being believed, that it was but part of her campaign to discredit him, and a falsehood from beginning to end. As it was, however, this direct challenge to the King to see for himself had about it a ring of conviction which could not but awaken her "good brother's" uneasiness regarding the plausible stranger whom he had so readily honoured.

Walsingham lost no time in raising the matter. On receiving his mistress's letter, he hurried to the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, and remonstrated with him on King Philip's breach of international etiquette in harbouring the Queen's rebellious subject. The Spaniard, however, proved himself a match for the cleverness of Elizabeth and her minister. "I never," wrote Walsingham, "spoke with a prouder man, or one more disdainful in countenance." He professed complete ignorance of Stukely and his mission, and as for any attempt against Ireland, he said: "They were no Spaniards who had that enterprise on hand."[1] An even more unsatisfactory answer was given by a special envoy despatched by Philip to Paris, Count Olivarez, whom Walsingham visited and found, "after the Spanish fashion, more solemn than wise." He dismissed as mere "bruites" all the reports of Stukely's intended expedition. The English ambassador sharply informed him "that the Queen's Majesty was advertised otherwise, and upon such likelihood that she had good cause to believe it," laying particular stress upon Stukely's handsome allowance, the knighthood conferred on him by Philip, and the company of engineers whom he had collected. With equal curtness the Count retorted that "his master was glad to entertain any gentleman of countenance that offered him service, as also to honour them with the honour of

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, Feb. 25, *For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 411.

knighthood." Realising that nothing was to be gained by threats, Walsingham's tone grew more conciliatory. "I made him acquainted with the course of Stukely's life, as also how little he had to take to; and therefore willed him to consider how unworthy he was of any honour or entertainment in respect of himself."[1] Olivarez, however, appeared to be little affected; he committed himself to no undertaking, beyond a cold intimation that he would lay the matter before his master; and from his uncompromising attitude it seemed that not even for the sake of peace with England, was Philip ready to dismiss his visitor.

The alarm felt by Elizabeth was, if anything, increased by the apparent failure of her representations. She now resolved to have recourse to Guerau de Spes, notwithstanding her distrust of the man and his activities. She could not of course know that the ambassador had long been intriguing with Stukely, and was now watching her discomfiture with malicious amusement. "By way of France," he had written to the King on February 12, 1571, "news has arrived that his Holiness had granted the kingdom of Ireland to your Majesty, and that you would in consequence send Thomas Stukely with fourteen or fifteen companies of Spaniards. These people are already beginning to discuss the measures to counteract this."[2] Early in March he was summoned before the Council, whom he succeeded to a certain extent in tranquillising. Lord Burghley questioned him closely as to his master's treatment of the queen's rebellious subject, who (he had heard) was in receipt of a pension of five hundred reals a day. Don Guerau professed complete ignorance: "I said I had heard nothing of Stukely, though my letters from Spain were recent, and I said that I did not believe it, but that spies had exaggerated matters."[3] The Council affected to believe him, as, in

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, March 19, *Compleat Ambass.*, p. 56.

[2] *Span. Cal.*, 1568-79, p. 293.

[3] De Spes to Philip, March 14 and 23, *ibid.*, pp. 298-9.

the absence of definite evidence, they could not well do otherwise; but feeling still ran high over what was regarded as a piece of defiance on Philip's part, and the treatment of Stukely became one of the chief obstacles in the way of a settlement. The negotiations, however, were not interrupted, and when it was deemed that they had reached a stage of comparative maturity, the Queen dispatched Sir Henry Cobham to Madrid to attempt to find a way out of those minor difficulties which still barred the path to peace. Before his departure, Sir Henry had spoken with the Spanish ambassador, and the impression left by the interview upon Don Guerau's mind was that, "if they can get security from his Majesty about Stukely and other points, they will offer that an ambassador should go to Spain, and the whole matter be concluded."[1]

Had Elizabeth and her ministers been aware of the real situation in Spain, apart from the sensational rumours with which their spies coloured it, they might have been spared much trouble. Curiously enough, all their information was to the effect that Stukely might be expected off the coast of Ireland at the head of a Spanish fleet, and it was not until Cobham's arrival at Madrid that they heard the true story. It then became clear that, whatever his previous intentions, the King's enthusiasm for Stukely and his projects had of late considerably cooled. The adventurer's old enemy, Nicholas White, had heard a similar rumour from independent sources; and writing to Burghley on the 8th of April, he remarks that Stukely is thought to have "more malice than power" with the King of Spain.[2] Shortly afterwards, Burghley himself, having referred to the Archbishop of Cashel, writes: "I hear by many things out of Spain, that the King is therein rather councilled by Epimetheus than Prometheus;

[1] De Spes to Cayas, March 28, *ibid.*, p. 301. (By an error Stukely is referred to as "*Stanley*").

[2] *Irish Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 444.

he hath employed much money on Stukely, and now findeth him not worthy of any more."[1] As a matter of fact, three months before the report had percolated to English quarters, Philip had definitely dismissed the idea of sending Stukely against Ireland. While Elizabeth and her Council were conjuring up fearful visions of a Spanish fleet, Stukely, as we now know from the Vatican correspondence, had abandoned all hope of being employed by the King.

When the Archbishop of Cashel shook the dust of the Spanish Court from his feet, his successful rival seemed firmly established in the King's favour. The dawn of the year 1571 marked the zenith of his fortunes. On the 21st of January he was knighted by Philip.[2] As to the details of this latest honour we have little to guide us. Stukely himself dismisses it in a few words : " Having embraced him, the King was fain to dub him Knight, which so he did."[3] It is most probable that his knighthood was a religious one ; like his companion Don Francesco de Merles, he may have been admitted a member of the Order of St. James. This signal mark of favour did not fail to reach London, and was in great part responsible for the gloomy forebodings which haunted the English government during the next few months. It seemed as if Philip by this step had set the seal of his approval upon Stukely's plans, and that his arrival in Ireland was now only a question of time. The wiser heads among the Spaniards however—those who knew the character of their monarch thoroughly—shook their heads at this wild talk, and waited for the inevitable disillusionment. It came more swiftly than even they expected ; the adventurer's fall from power was almost as meteoric as his rise.

Shortly before or after his knighthood—probably

[1] *Compleat Ambass.*, p. 94, Burghley to Walsingham.
[2] Cobham to Burghley, April 18, *For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 432.
[3] " Mr. Stukle's Narrative," *Rome Cal.*, I., 385.

before—he drew up a proposal in writing which he submitted jointly to the Pope and to the King. A copy has survived in the Vatican Archives, and reads as follows :

THOMAS STUCLEY'S PROPOSAL.

That there be given to him four well-appointed ships, and a foist and two barks, and therewith 3,000 foot, and 500 horse, which he will undertake to raise for the present without any payment on that account ; and with that force he will go to Plymouth, and burn and take the fleet of Aquires [Hawkins], and thence he will go to Ireland and make himself master of Waterford and Cork.

He craves there will be allowed him as his helper and associate Maestro de Campo Julian (Romero).

With the said succour, he will reduce the realm of Ireland to the service and devotion of his Majesty, and defend it against all enemies ; his Majesty on receipt of advice that the design aforesaid is accomplished, to be under obligation to make good to him the pay of the horse and foot aforesaid from the day of their putting out from the port of Santander to the end of the time during which they shall be in his Majesty's service.[1]

In the offer itself there was nothing very original. It represented merely the programme which Stukely had again and again submitted to Philip, always without effect. This not being a naval or military history, we do not feel called upon to discuss the feasibility of his plans, but the project of burning the English fleet was daring in the extreme, and perhaps not so difficult as it may sound. His years of piracy, during which he wrought such havoc on Spanish shipping, must have given him no inconsiderable experience of warfare by sea. As for the seizing of Ireland, even the brief account which we have given of conditions there is sufficient to show how great were his chances of success.

About the same time as he made this proposal, he again got into touch with the Nuncio, Mgr. Castagneo, by means of a third party. It will be remembered that, on his arrival in Spain, he had petitioned for absolution from the ecclesiastical censure which his dabbling in

[1] *Rome Cal.*, I., 374.

heresy had merited, but without success. He now renewed his supplication for absolution, sending at the same time a lengthy document in Italian—from which we have already quoted extensively—dealing with the course of his negotiations in Spain. In due course the Nuncio forwarded it to the Vatican, where copies of it, entitled "Mr. Stukle's Narrative," may still be seen.[1]

The document itself is written in a verbose and bombastic style such as one might expect from the magniloquent Stukely. He begins with a claim to kingly birth: "Mr. Stukle is an English nobleman of the blood royal of England." Next comes a list of his vast possessions: "In the kingdom of Ireland he has two provinces, the one Wexford, the other Chatriho [Catherlogh]; " the duchy of Leinster, also, although he was prudent enough to add that "he has not the title thereof." Then follows an account of his marriage and his wife's dower, all of which he has spent "for the salvation of souls, the service and augmentation of our Holy Mother the Roman Catholic Church, and the honour and glory of Christ our Saviour." An impartial critic, remembering the "Florida Project," can hardly be blamed for remarking that his method of attaining all these desirable projects was, to say the least of it, extremely unusual. Judging from his opening remarks, we should be exceedingly chary of attaching any importance to the rest of his account. This should not, however, blind us to the utility of the latter, which, though no doubt greatly exaggerated, is not without a basis of truth and forms the only cohesive account of his negotiations with Philip. A certain amount of his story has been previously quoted, and we will now resume it at the point where we left off—about the time of the Archbishop's departure.

The king, he said, had seemed to look with favour upon his offer, and "from Secretary Saglia [Cayas] and the Lords of the Council, he had ever good words, full

[1] *Rome Cal.*, I., 379-385.

of encouragement." But they all proved delusive; for negotiations were started with a view to peace with Elizabeth. He scouted the idea that the Queen was sincere in her desire for amity, asserting with characteristic modesty that "it is only the dread that she entertains of the said nobleman's valour, which she well knows, that has induced her to talk of peace." He told how he had expected to be assigned the fleet which had conveyed the new queen of Spain to Madrid, "which, with the Walloons and three or four thousand Spaniards, would have done the business two months ago"; but again he was disappointed.

Meanwhile, continues the narrative, his friends at home grew impatient, urging him by letters to wait no longer; and so he redoubled his importunities, but all to no purpose. The king would not hear of breaking the peace with Elizabeth; later on, he said, Stukely might be sent forward, and meanwhile he should be provided with 'some honourable occupation' in the state of Milan. This and a similar post in Flanders Stukely refused, saying that if he accepted either, he would be unable to serve the Church, and also that "Elizabeth would, by dint of money, procure his assassination within a fortnight." He was told that he would be included by name in the treaty of peace, and that "if the Queen failed to keep her pledge the King would destroy her." Even so, retorted Stukely with cold sarcasm, he would not return to life; and in any event, he did not believe the King would take any action, "because, notwithstanding he has been robbed of so many thousands and hundreds of thousands of crowns—some of which, it may be mentioned in passing, had found their way into Stukely's pocket—and so many of his Spanish vassals have been done to death, he has put up with it, and not only has exhibited no resentment whatever, but instead of taking vengeance, is making peace with a heretic." And he besought the King, if he feared to furnish him

openly with aid, at least to do so privately. This the Council promised, but afterwards changed their minds, and Stukely in despair asked for leave to depart. At the time of his writing, they had induced him to tarry for forty days in Vivero—the port at which he had originally landed—to await their decision, promising that if the peace negotiations collapsed they would give him "powerful aid," and that if peace were made, he himself could go and do his best alone. To this he had assented, and was making preparations for his journey to Vivero, when he drew up this report for the Nuncio.

Monsignor Castagna forwarded the "Narrative" to Rome along with an explanatory letter addressed to Cardinal Rusticucci and dated the 5th of February. He told of Stukely's renewed petition for absolution, and asked for directions upon the matter, knowing the Pope's strictness in such cases. At the same time, in order that the Pope might be able to judge more fully, he set forth his own opinion of the Englishman, and the little hope there was of the King acceding to his request.

He has been received with honour by the King, and no expense has been spared in entertaining him, so he says in the writing. He has negotiated and treated with his Majesty, and with his chief Ministers; he is caressed and favoured by the Duchess of Feria, who is an Englishwoman, and a most Catholic and Christian lady, and likewise by the Duke, her husband, both of whom have nothing more at heart than to see England brought back to the faith. It is likewise true that he has in the harbour a ship in which he brought money to a very large amount, of which he has spent the greater part, and that he has a little boy, who, they say, is indeed his son. These matters, I say, are true; but as to what he says in the writing, that he has negotiated with the King and his Ministers, and other matters which he avers, I know nothing for certain. Truly, I find it difficult to believe that they have so openly said that they are treating of peace with Elizabeth, for these people are not wont to unbosom themselves to anybody; however it may be so.

As to the design upon that island, one must bear in mind that the Prince that should adventure it must reckon on making open war with England, and how difficult an operation is this is well known. So that if the Catholic King should not find himself pre-

pared to embark on this great and difficult enterprise against England, he will not be minded to declare himself that lady's enemy for the sake of Ireland, more especially since it is of little use to take it if he cannot afterwards keep it.

It is also known that the King of France would not relish this move, because the French deem that the design upon that country and the deliverance of the Queen of Scots are their proper work; and so it seems ill-feeling would be engendered, which they are here eager to avoid.

There are so many other matters on hand—the League, the aid to be given Savoy, the affairs of Flanders, the suspicions of France—and so many occasions of spending money and employing men, that I do not believe his Majesty is likely to engage on this design on England, for such seems to be this gentleman's aim and object, though he speaks only of Ireland. This I say to let you know how little hope I have that all our labour will not be in vain.

The hospitality which the king affords him is, in my judgment, merely for the purpose of discovering if that lady [Elizabeth] will make restitution of the moneys, ships and men that she detains, and if she will come to an accord with his Majesty; in which case he will discard him altogether. But, should she remain as hostile as she is and continue to do his Majesty wrong, then he thinks he might make use of him to do her a mischief, and bring her to her senses.[1]

In the foregoing passages the Nuncio had succinctly presented the real attitude of Philip, whatever the alarmist reports of Burghley's spies might say to the contrary. There were first to be considered the difficulties in the way of Stukely's enterprise, even should the King wish to further it. These were the fear of offending France and the expenditure which it would involve. But, more important than all these, was Philip's earnest desire for a peace—or at all events a truce—with the English Queen. While the negotiations were in progress, Stukely was to be entertained at Court, and his presence there would be a forceful reminder to the King's "dear sister" of the unpleasant consequences which further aggression upon her part might entail. As to the future, nothing was decided. Philip's slow

[1] *Rome Cal.*, I., 376-379.

intellect could not be induced to look into the middle of next week; he took each day as he found it, and dealt with every situation as it arose. But the Nuncio was probably justified in inferring that, if the desired peace was secured, the "Duke of Ireland" would promptly be sent about his business; whereas, if Elizabeth refused to accede to the Spanish terms, the King would seriously reconsider the proposal which Stukely had lately put before him of conquering Ireland and burning the English fleet.

To return to this offer and its reception. It had been addressed, as the reader will remember, both to the Pope and to the King. We shall first consider the Pontiff's reply, which was embodied in a letter from Cardinal Rusticucci to the Nuncio. The Cardinal's detailed knowledge of the proposal suggests that Stukely had forwarded to Rome not merely the bare summary of the scheme which alone can be found in the Vatican Archives, but also a further memorandum which dealt more fully with the question of ways and means.

"Mr. Thomas Stuckle," wrote the Cardinal, "an English gentleman, makes the following offer to the Pope and the Catholic King: to wit that, being given the command of ships of war to the number of twelve, with 3,000 soldiers aboard, he will within a few weeks bring the whole of the island of Ireland into subjection to the king, as he holds the threads of an important conspiracy in that country which will assure him a welcome and liberty to fortify himself in whichever of the best ports of the island he may choose." The affair, according to Stukely, could best be managed "covertly and with dissimulation," such as by giving out that the ships were really designed against Algiers or against the pirates. At the same time, he has offered, given the command of two ships of war and two armed barks, "to burn and sink all the galleons which the Queen of England has in the river Thames," either in person or

by means of his master pilot; "and this enterprise he deems so certain of success that, for further assurance of the Pope and his Majesty, he is willing to surrender himself to the Duke of Alba, that, if the enterprise fail, his life may be at the Duke's discretion." "The two said proposals," concludes Rusticucci, "the Pope has left wholly and in all respects to the judgment of his Majesty; and therefore has bidden me write to your Lordship, desiring you to do your best to endeavour to induce his Majesty to put the latter proposal as to the ships to the proof, by bidding the Duke of Alba to cause the two ships to be privily made ready, and also the two barks, and to use whatever expedient may seem best to him to cloak the affair until the result be known; and then it may be more to the purpose to consider the other proposal."

Neither Philip nor Alba, however, shared the Pope's enthusiasm for this risky project. An attempt to burn the English fleet, which would in all probability prove abortive, did not commend itself any more to them than did the invasion of Ireland at this critical juncture in their relations with Elizabeth. The Nuncio's representations, if any were made, were quite unavailing, and on the 8th of February Stukely received the King's answer in the shape of a letter from Secretary Cayas, announcing the royal decision upon his proposal: "Though his Majesty knows your spirit and zeal to be very good, and befitting a Catholic Knight, yet for the present it is not expedient to undertake the affair of the ships, or any other sort of hostilities, until we learn the result of the negotiations for peace, as you have on divers occasions been informed."

Stukely's offer was in effect an ultimatum to Philip, and had been accompanied by a threat that, if it were not accepted, he himself would leave the Spanish court for good and all. But he had grossly over-estimated the importance which the King attached to his presence;

for the Secretary's letter, having dealt with his offer, proceeded to announce the royal consent to his departure. "As you are determined to go to Rome and Venice, you are quite at liberty to do so; for his Majesty is agreeable thereto, and will be happy to give you the needful passport, and the licence for the two horses that you desire to take or send to Italy." Meanwhile the King would be pleased to present him with two thousand ducats, as also to pay the expenses which he had incurred in the up-keep of the ship and the wages of his pilots, soldiers, and mariners as from the date of their arrival in Spain. Accordingly he was instructed to send Alessandro Fideli to the Palace for the two thousand ducats, and a commissary was dispatched to Vivero to make a just estimate of the amount due. His request for a licence to discharge the ship had about it perhaps an air of too much finality for Philip's liking, and Cayas referred vaguely to certain "weighty reasons" which prevented this being granted immediately. He concluded by assuring Stukely that the King's gracious regard for him was unchanged, and that he was at liberty to depart as soon as ever he pleased." [1]

We can well imagine what a blow to the adventurer's self-esteem was the King's ready acquiescence in his withdrawal from the Court. His colossal vanity had prevented him from even visualising the possibility of such a dismissal. Now however, that it had come, he had sufficient shrewdness to put the best face he could on the matter. He went to his old patron the duke of Feria, represented himself in great need, and besought him to use his influence with Philip to secure: firstly, that his subsidy of two thousand ducats be trebled; secondly, that his expenses in connection with his mariners and soldiers be paid as from the fourth of April, the day on which he set sail from Ireland; and lastly, that a licence to discharge the ship be given him without delay.

[1] *Rome Cal.*, I., 385.

The Duke was only too willing to help him; and as a result of his intervention, Stukely received another letter from the Secretary of State, announcing that Philip had acceded to his three requests.

Having obtained these additional concessions, Stukely, with a heavy heart, prepared to return to the port from which, seven months before, he had set out with such high hopes. Now all was changed; fortune had once more deserted him, and his dreams of ruling Ireland as Philip's viceroy were rudely shattered. To add to his dejection, he had as yet received no answer to his petition for absolution, and from Castagna's silence he was driven to infer that Rome had refused to grant it. That he felt this deeply it is only fair to add; for, whatever his faults in the past, he now seemed deeply earnest in his desire to be reconciled to the Church. Again he renewed his suit to the Nuncio, and the following letter, written on the eve of his departure, cannot but excite our pity:

> I am about to depart, and in ill-health and great straits and anxiety, whereby I am harassed enough, but by no adversity more than to know that I go with so little relief for my soul, unless this letter shall bring relief. God gave me my soul to the end that I should not lose it in any extremity of adverse fortune, and so I entreat your most Reverend Lordship, seeing that you are a priest of Christ and Nuncio Apostolic, to obtain for me from his Holiness relief for my soul, that, absolved from excommunication, I may go among my brothers, sons of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and enjoy the blessings for soul and body in which the sons of the spouse of Christ participate. Thereby your Lordship will do me a great favour, and to God a great service by gaining a soul for him. I will take care to send to you on this errant—seeing that it is a matter that so concerns me—before I embark, and I will requite your Lordship for it. Praying Our Lord to keep you safe and promote you to that estate and dignity in which you can serve him best,[1] I kiss your most Reverend Lordship's hands.[2]

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[1] As Castagna afterwards became Pope Urban VIII. and therefore was at this time probably not without hope of the tiara, we are bound to admire Stukely's tact!

[2] *Rome Cal.*, I., 386 (no date).

Of the Papal reply we have no record. Probably Stukely did not obtain absolution until his arrival in Rome after the battle of Lepanto. Meanwhile, however, he went to Vivero, where he arrived on the 6th of March. He sold the "Trinity," which had brought him to Spain, to one Robert Boene, a merchant of Vigo,[1] and immediately afterwards discharged all his men, even his most faithful servants such as James Rigsby, Richard Smith, and Reynold Digby, his steward. This was unfortunate both for himself and for Philip. On their return to England, they were immediately seized by government agents, thrown into prison, and closely questioned as to their master's relations with the King of Spain. Disgusted, perhaps, at Stukely's ingratitude towards them and with their memories refreshed by torture, they told all they knew; and it will be remembered how useful were their confessions to us when dealing with the adventurer's rise to power and his influence at the Spanish Court.

Notwithstanding his haughty declarations, Stukely did not leave Spain immediately; but the story of his subsequent adventures must be reserved for a further article.

D. A. Binchy.

[1] *Irish MSS.*, May 2, 1571.

PROTESTANT ACTIVITY IN CHINA[1]

BY A. M. BOURGEOIS, S.J.

ANY account of Protestant activity in China would be necessarily incomplete if we left out of account the authoritative work on the subject, *The Christian Occupation of China*.[2] This work, which has as sub-title in Chinese *China for God*, was compiled and published by the Protestants themselves. Although a large folio volume of 500 pages, it is really a résumé of the documents communicated to the great Protestant Council held at Shanghai in 1922. Crammed with statistics, percentages, diagrams, graphs, and maps, it is an authority of the highest order for anyone desirous of knowing the work of Protestants in China. At first sight, one is amazed and dazzled by these graphs and maps, so numerous and so splendidly detailed, so filled with the work and the presence of Protestant centres, schools, hospitals, dispensaries, chapels, universities, etc., etc. It is propaganda admirably presented; and of course, like all propaganda, it is not without its proportion of bluff. We shall quote it frequently throughout this paper, not merely for its statistics, but also for its admissions, its criticisms, and above all for its praise of the Catholic Church. Such quotations will not only put before us the work Protestants are doing in China, but in addition will help us to understand the mentality of Protestant missionaries.

Let us examine first of all the number of Protestant missionaries in China. They have come from practically all parts of the globe—from Sweden, Denmark, Norway Finland, Switzerland, Germany, Australia, but especially

[1] A paper read at *La Semaine de Missiologie* held at Louvain in September, 1924.

[2] *The Christian Occupation of China.* A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China made by the Special Committee on Survey and Occupation, China Continuation Committee, 1918–1921. Edited by Milton T. Stauffer, B.A., B.D. (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922).

from England and America. Thus America has provided a contingent of 3,305 missionaries (male and female), England 2,218 (male and female), while Europe (Sweden, Germany, etc.) has been responsible for 758 men and women. In 1921 this missionary force numbered 6,636 foreign workers, and since that date the total has reached 7,000.

The Christian Occupation of China opens with a detailed list of the various "Missionary Societies" and "Christian Organisations"—more than 130—which have representatives in China. This number will astonish no one acquainted with the multiplicity of sects among Protestants. Naturally these sects vary in importance as the following table shows [1] :—

	Missionaries
Presbyterians are represented by ..	1,080
Methodists do. do. ..	946
China Inland Mission do. ..	960
Anglicans (C. of E.) do. ..	635
Lutherans do. do. ..	590
Baptists do. do. ..	588
Congregationalists do. ..	345
Other Sects or Societies do. ..	1,492

In 1860 Protestants possessed only fourteen residential centres in China, and these were in the large maritime cities open to Europeans. In that year, as the result of a treaty between China, France and England, permission was given to Catholic and Protestant missionaries to go into the interior, to preach their religion, and to acquire property. Both Catholics and Protestants took advantage of this permission, and in this connection it is interesting to note the rapid increase in Protestant missionary forces. According to a graph in *The Christian Occupation*,[2] fifteen missionaries arrived in 1880. In 1890, an annual reinforcement of a hundred members

[1] P. 339. [2] P. 289.

is recorded, and this annual increase is more or less maintained until 1900. From that year onwards the number of newly-arrived Protestant missionaries grows annually greater. In 1905 the reinforcement was 240; in 1910, 320; finally, in 1920, it reached the exceedingly high figure of 425 new arrivals. So great indeed is this annual increase that, if Protestant missionaries working in China between 1890 and 1920 are classified according to the date of their arrival in that country, 50 per cent. of them have arrived during the last ten years. In other words, during the last ten years the Protestants have doubled their working forces.

The question arises: how do Catholic figures compare with these? Exclusive of Chinese, Protestant missionaries number about 7,000. Of these 1,310 are ordained ministers; the rest are unordained—*v.g.*, doctors, women-workers, teachers, etc., and the proportion is remarkable. I have calculated as exactly as possible the number of Catholic workers in the mission field, and one cannot help feeling a certain alarm at the fact that when all are added together—priests (including bishops), brothers and nuns, Europeans and Americans—our effective strength reaches the modest total of 2,546 Catholic missionaries against 7,000 Protestants.

What conclusion can be drawn? Is it that Protestants possess greater apostolic zeal than Catholics, that they are more earnest for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ? Space does not permit here a full reply to this question, but a few general remarks are necessary to put the matter in its true light; for at first sight the enormous number of Protestant workers seems to reflect little credit on Catholics, and might even be an occasion of scandal. Against roughly 272 million Catholics throughout the world there are only approximately 172 million Protestants, yet their missionaries in China seem to outnumber ours by 3 to 1. The disproportion is, however, more apparent than real.

It is important in the first place not to exaggerate the numerical superiority of Protestant missionaries, and in the second place to be careful of conclusions drawn from this superiority. I have not by me figures to show whether throughout the world, all pagan countries included, there are more Protestant missionaries than Catholic. It is certain that they are attracted in great numbers to China and to India. On the other hand, there are some countries—Indo-China for example—where the number of Protestant missionaries is scarcely worth estimating. The authors of *The Christian Occupation* complain bitterly of the fact that French Protestants make no effort to evangelise Indo-China, where English and American missionaries are not wanted by the French Administration and where they are consequently in very small number. Hence it might be quite erroneous to estimate the totality of Protestant missionaries in proportion to their representation in China. Moreover, even supposing what is not proved, that there are more Protestant than Catholic missionaries in all pagan countries together, we must be on our guard against giving the glory of this to heresy as such.

In the first place, the Protestants of England and America are scarcely any longer heretics in the strict sense of this word—*i.e.*, souls in formal revolt against the authority of the Church. They belong to the Church of their country, and they believe honestly (but alas! wrongly) that their Church is Christ's Church. Of course, such a Church receives but little of the abundant stream of graces received in the Catholic Church, and the effect is seen in the less fruitful return obtained from Protestant effort. But granted that the Church is a branch cut off, the fact remains that very many splendid souls in England and America are Protestant simply because the possibility of being anything else has never entered their minds. Frequently their baptism is perfectly valid, and consequently they have the right to the fruits of baptism.

Does anyone believe that our Lord refuses them His grace or a share in His Apostolic spirit? If then these souls sacrifice themselves for Him, to whom does the glory of their sacrifice belong? To heresy and the spirit of revolt? By no means. It is not the spirit of revolt, unknown to these honest souls, which sends them forth to preach the Gospel in distant lands. It is the love of Jesus; and the love of Jesus is not specifically Protestant: it is Christian.

Another thing to remember is that it is much easier to be a Protestant missionary than a Catholic missionary. In general the Protestant missionary is fairly well off, and in consequence has a more comfortable life than the Catholic. He is often teacher or doctor in one or other of the large cities. He has his "leave" at certain fixed periods, and during that time he can return to England or America for rest and change. While on the mission he retains his personal fortune, and receives in addition the fairly large cheque which his Society forwards him annually, as well as an allowance in proportion to the number of his children. On the whole his life, from certain points of view, resembles that of a colonial civil servant. Taken altogether, the number of Protestant missionaries in country districts is proportionally much inferior to that of Catholic priests, who for the most part live alone and in the midst of their flock. Thus, it is easy to see that the great excess of Protestant mission-workers is made up of teachers, doctors, etc., in the cities large and small. *The Christian Occupation of China* itself admits that, if the wives of Protestant missionaries are included in the same categories as their husbands the percentages would be as follows: 54 per cent. of missionaries for evangelisation; 25 per cent. for education; 18 per cent. for medicine; 2 per cent. for literary work; 1 per cent. without any special classification.[1] The remark about the easier life is true of the women no less than of the

[1] P. 288.

men; for although there are many women missionaries in China, a big number of them are parsons' wives. It is not surprising then that *The Christian Occupation* cannot refrain from expressing admiration of the wonderful "work accomplished by the 2,500 to 3,000 Catholic foreign missionaries, men and women, who have indeed left all to consecrate their lives to the most humble amongst the Chinese. They come from nine or more foreign countries, and side by side with their Chinese co-workers they spread their faith from North to South and from East to West."[1]

Moreover, as we have seen, the Protestants are rich. They have in consequence facilities for recruitment which we do not possess: publicity on a vast scale; foundation of big associations in the Universities; propaganda by means of the press, etc. Besides that, the Anglo-Saxon is a lover of travel and expatriates himself, temporarily at least, much more easily than the other Europeans: a fact which partially explains the great excess of Protestant over Catholic missionaries. Again in Catholic countries an energetic priest can always find plenty of outlets for his zeal and initiative. Amongst Protestants, on the other hand, the foreign missions are often the only outlet for chosen souls. Finally, certain countries have relatively few priests in proportion to the Catholic population. Thus South America (at least in several republics), which counts, and rightly so, as a Catholic country, not only does not send any priests to foreign missions, but itself draws a certain number of missionaries from Europe.

These are a few of the considerations that may be brought forward towards the solution of the problem. I do not claim to exhaust here such a complex question. All that I have said is little more than an indication of the lines along which a solution may be found.

After this digression, I return to the Protestants in

[1] P. 463.

China. Having seen the numerical forces they have available, let us now see these forces at work. By way of introduction we shall recall briefly the history of Protestant penetration into the interior.

In 1860, immediately after the treaty, the Protestants set to work in the seven maritime provinces: Kwang-tung, Fu-Kien, Che-Kiang, Kiang-si, Shan-tung, Chih-li and Manchuria. Then gradually, up to 1880, they explored and began work on the Yang-tse valley as far as Sze-Chwan. At this time Shan-si, Shen-si, Kansu (provinces of the N.W.), Sze-Chwan, Kwei-chow (provinces of the W. and S. W.) contained barely one or two Protestant centres. Hu-nan, Ho-nan (provinces of the centre) Kwang-si and Yun-nan (provinces of the S. W.) had not been touched. Between 1880 and 1890 the Protestant advance is more rapid. This is shown especially in the conquest of the North. There, during these years, 81 residential centres were opened, more than half of them being in Shan-si and Shen-si. An attack, but on a much more moderate scale, was also launched on the provinces so far untouched—Hu-nan, Ho-nan, Kwang-si, Yun-nan, and Kiang-si.

The result of all this was that round about 1900 the eighteen provinces (*i.e.*, China proper without its dependencies) and Manchuria had been opened up by Protestant missionaries. But it is after 1900, once they had repaired the ruin caused by the Boxers, that the Protestants made their biggest stride. Every province reports an increase of at least 33 per cent. in the number of its residential centres, and this large increase is due in great part to the formation of numerous missionary societies, especially among the Lutherans. Hence, in 1901 there are seventy-one missionary societies at work in China. By 1920 these societies have reached 130 in number.

Now let us consider the work of Protestants and try to gauge its depth, leaving aside the question of its extension. The first impression made by a study of

charts and statistics is that the Protestant missionary is, by preference, a town missionary. It is on the towns certainly that his main effort is directed, and he is proud of it. But it would be a mistake to think—as I have often heard very erroneously stated—that there are no Protestants in the "bush" or country districts. Almost half of the Protestants live in the "bush"—nearly always, it is true, in groups of four or five; very rarely alone, as Catholic missionaries are nearly always. Yet, it remains true that the proportion of Protestant missionaries living in big towns exceeds greatly that of Catholic missionaries. Thus, *The Christian Occupation* informs us that there are more than 200 missionaries in Shanghai and Pekin. Canton, Nankin, Foochow, Changsha, Chengtu, and Tsinan have each more than 100 missionaries. Thirty-eight other towns have each 25.

What is the chief work of the Protestant missionaries in these big towns? Schools and hospitals. Their time, money and man-power are mainly dedicated to these two works. And there, it must be admitted, they overwhelm us. Protestants, who number 350,000 adherents in China, can secure the benefit of education to 200,000 Chinese. Whereas the Catholic Church, which numbers 2,000,000 faithful, can only procure such education for 150,000 Chinese.[1] *The Christian Occupation* comments on these figures thus:—

> There is no conclusive evidence in the sources consulted which would lead one to infer that Roman Catholic Church missions are making any serious attempt to follow the Chinese Government System of Education, either in grading or in curricula. . . . . For a church numbering over 2,000,000 Christians in China, the total work done in higher education is much below general expectations, and certainly much below the need of its Christian constituency . . . . When the total number of students receiving education at the hands of the Roman Catholic Church in China (at least 150,000) is compared with the total number of Christians

[1] These figures include only the pupils in our "Book Schools." If the "Prayer Schools" (in which the children are only taught catechism and prayers) were added, 150,000 would be replaced by 259,000.

enrolled (almost 2,000,000), the feebleness of the Church's educational activities becomes at once apparent. There is less than one student in Roman Catholic Church schools of all grades to every 100 Christians reported in the Roman Catholic Church. Protestant Missions, on the other hand, average over one student in Christian schools to every two communicants.[1]

The Catholic Church's inferiority in educational matters is attributed by this writer to a triple cause: *The need of a central organisation*—which would make a better distribution of Catholic resources; *The lack of funds*—for Catholic charity has not yet been attracted to the works of education; *The inferiority of Catholic Schools*—from the point of view of English culture: "Most Roman Catholic missionary priests and sisters come from Continental countries, and although familiar with the English language, speak it with some hesitancy. The Chinese naturally prefer to do their educational work in schools where English is taught or is the chief medium of instruction." [2]

It must be admitted that the Chinese, who are always very practical, wish to learn the language which is most useful to them. This is undoubtedly English. And, naturally, they prefer to go to learn it from English-speaking masters, who, up to the present, have for the greater part been Protestants. Hence, we cannot be too glad of the yearly arrival of reinforcements from Ireland and America. Without pretending to be exhaustive, we may note the recent creation of the Prefectures Apostolic of Hanyang (Irish) and Kowloon (American), the future University of American Benedictines at Pekin, and the work of the Irish Vincentians in this last-named city. Other reinforcements are announced: for instance, Irish Jesuits are coming to take their place beside their French, Spanish and Italian brothers in religion.

If we pass on now to the hospitals, we shall remark here again the conspicuous superiority of the Protestants.

[1] Pp. 461-463. 150,000 pupils out of 2,000,000 faithful gives 7.5 per cent., not 1 per cent. I confess I do not understand how the author interpreted the statistics supplied by himself.

[2] *C. O.*, p. 463.

This superiority is evidently due to their greater numbers, but more especially to the enormous funds which they control. Whilst the Catholics in China have scarcely more than 70 hospitals, the Protestants in 1920 had 246, and they had planned to open 38 new ones between that year and 1924. But as this question of hospitals is not directly connected with the propagation of the Gospel, I shall not dwell upon it. Its importance, however, in the eyes of Protestants may be gauged from the number of pages consecrated to it in *The Christian Occupation*. By the side of tables setting forth, in great detail, the number of doctors, nurses, beds, etc., there are elaborate drawings and pictures, with full information about the dimensions of the buildings, the date of construction, the perfection of the sanitary arrangements, and so on. It is an impressive chapter, an incontestable proof of Protestant effort and success in the medical field.

Owing to the fact that the administration of the Sacraments makes few demands on his time, the Protestant missionary is in a position to undertake various other works which are, in great measure, debarred to the Catholic missionary. For instance, the apostolate of the press. In the Chinese language the Catholic press is limited to one daily, two weeklies, and three monthlies. The Protestants, on the other hand, have one daily, twelve weeklies, and forty-four monthlies or quarterlies. Then there are the many-sided activities of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.—schools, hostels, clubs, lectures, cinemas, concerts, etc. Other works, more original than imitable, are baby-shows, lectures on hygiene, campaigns against lotteries and opium, domestic economy, gratuitous distribution of bibles and tracts, employment bureaux to provide good positions in the railways and postal service, vindication of a just wage and of reasonable hours for the working-classes, provision of house-boats which serve as chapels, schools, and dispensaries for the bargees or watermen in South China, especially at Kwantung.

Let us now see what the Protestants have to say about our Catholic Missions in China. By way of preface, it must be confessed that they show a more intelligent and kindly appreciation of our work than we are accustomed to receive at their hands. We shall first give their criticisms. These may be reduced to three :—

(1) The first criticism deals with the question of schools and education. As we have already quoted and examined this criticism, it is unnecessary to dwell further on it.

(2) The second criticism is that we do not know one another, that we work more or less in watertight compartments : " We observe that the different Roman agencies in China appear to work with a considerable degree of independence and not to take much cognizance of each other's fields . . . . There is little or no co-ordination between these different societies, and members of one congregation know little of the work of others." [1] This criticism has certainly some foundation. But one can well understand that, sure of teaching with the same heart the same doctrine, the bold pioneers of the Catholic Church, isolated in remote country districts and often overburdened with work, find less need and less opportunity to keep in close touch with their colleagues in the mission field. Still it cannot be denied that a greater co-ordination is desirable ; and it was no doubt a sense of this want which prompted His Holiness the Pope to send an Apostolic Delegate to China, one of whose first acts was to summon last year a General Council of the Bishops. The Missionary Exhibition which has been opened at the Vatican, in conjunction with the Holy Year, is an attempt on a vaster and a grander scale to co-ordinate and infuse new life into all Catholic Missions.

(3) Finally, many Protestant ministers have stated to the author of *The Christian Occupation of China* that Catholic priests make too free use of their catechists or " sien-cheng " as intermediaries, and that in consequence

[1] Pp. 457–458.

they do not know their sheep personally. Protestants, they contend, have a more intimate knowledge of their people. The author, who hesitates to endorse this criticism, comments on it thus : "Of course there are many exceptions—probably on both sides—but we believe in the main the criticism is a true one." [1] Our comment is that Protestant ministers have five times fewer Christians to look after. In fact, there is one foreign preacher for every 52 converts to Protestantism, whereas there is only one foreign priest for every 1,408 converts to Catholicism. Besides that, the more intimate contact claimed by the Protestants seems to be largely a question of external familiarity. That they themselves are conscious of this may be deduced from their remarks on the profound influence exercised by the priest as administrator of the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist. Finally, we have the criticism of the *Chinese Recorder* which, in August 1921, complained that, out of 284 Protestant missioners resident in Shanghai, only four devoted themselves to the ministry of preaching. When this statement was challenged, the writer increased the number to thirteen. It is, of course, a well-known fact that the Protestants delegate, in great part, the function of preaching to their Chinese helpers.

So much for Protestant criticism of Catholic Missions in China. Let us now pick out a few flowers of praise from the many scattered through the pages of *The Christian Occupation of China*. The author, first of all, singles out certain Catholic works on Apologetics and commends them as worthy of being studied with profit. But it is our books of devotion which attract his special sympathy. "No Protestant," he writes, "can read without a swelling heart these evidences of faith and devotion of that Church which is, whether he will or no, his Mother Church, and which preserved for him through the dark ages of Europe the articles of his faith and the

[1] P. 463.

standards of his devotion to a divine Lord." Attention is then called to the fact that books of devotion fill the largest space in the lists of Catholic publications in the Chinese language, a fact which proves "the essential soundness of heart of our Roman friends."[1]

The author next passes on to works in stone—cathedrals and churches—and has the following comment :—

> Among these are many fine cathedrals in the large cities, which dominate the landscape for miles and which stand out in striking contrast to the great majority of Protestant churches. These cathedrals bear witness to the central place of the church in the thought and life of the Roman Catholic community, whereas it is too often the school or the hospital which is the central building of a Protestant church compound.[2]

Again, these churches are not dead monuments; they are living centres of perpetual prayer, and this characteristic of Catholic life in China makes a strong appeal to our Protestant commentator. "Go where you will in China," he writes, "enter their churches when you will, you will almost invariably find some one at prayer. Or again, if you are passing a little country church at the hour of its daily Mass, you will find on any week day a goodly few from the village gathered there for worship and joining in it." Then follows an exhortation to the Protestants of China to study and appreciate the great work accomplished by their Catholic brothers.

It is with a feeling of admiration mingled with sadness that a Catholic contemplates the work of Protestant missionaries in China. Bacon once said of the Jesuit: *Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.* A Jesuit might apply the same words to many a Protestant missionary now working in China. Protestantism is a rival, the most formidable of our antagonists in the fight for Chinese souls. In the past it often thwarted our work in ways for which there was no defence. To-day such action has become exceedingly rare. Its ministers are not ashamed to express their admiration of "the gigantic

[1] P. 457. [2] P. 461.

and silent effort" put forth by the Catholics, and they even express a hope of ultimate reunion.[1] It is our duty to work and pray for this reunion, which would be fraught with incalculable good for all parties. The various Protestant sects working in China have no fixed doctrine or rite. For some Christianity has been so whittled away by Modernist errors that it is no longer distinguishable from Rationalism. For others Baptism is a mere formality, the official entrance into the body of the faithful. All this, of course, cannot but have a most deplorable effect on the minds of intelligent Chinese. Catholics and Protestants both profess to be followers of Christ and to teach His doctrine. But they do not all teach the same doctrine, and this discrepancy is a most serious obstacle to the spread of the Gospel. Rival religions, all professing to be Christian, are contending for the same souls. When a Chinaman is moved to examine their respective claims to his allegiance, what does he find? He finds that Catholicism has the advantage of rigid uniformity in doctrine and rite, but that Protestantism has the advantage of wealth and political prestige. The latter is the religion of the great nations—America, England, Germany—which Young China, enamoured of material progress, is trying to imitate. Even in religion the dollar does not lose its almighty force, especially when that religion imposes few obligations on its neophytes. From a purely natural point of view it is evident that the Catholic missionary is working at a great disadvantage. But he asks no more, as personal recompense for his poverty, his struggles and his isolation, than the harvest he reaps, which can well challenge comparison with the results produced by his prosperous neighbours. It is the fruit of his work which assures him that the seal of his divine Master is upon it, and for him that suffices. But a more vigorous co-operation on the part of the home countries would go far to redress the balance completely in our favour.

A. M. Bourgeois.

[1] P. 457.

REVIEWS

Apologetics

CHRIST AND THE CRITICS. By Dr. Hilarin Felder, O.M. Cap. Translated from the German by John L. Stoddard. Two vols. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1924. 12*s.* 6*d.* each.

THE LOGIA IN ANCIENT AND RECENT LITERATURE. By John Donovan, S.J., M.A. Cambridge: Heffer. 1924. 2*s.* net.

PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN RULE. By Dom Hugh G. Bévenot, O.S.B., B.A. London: Longmans. 1924. 5*s.* net.

DEUX ARGUMENTS POUR LE CATHOLICISME. Par Antonin Eymieu. Paris: "Editions Spes." 1923. 7*fr.*

We are far from being adequately provided in the English language with a really scientific apologetical literature from the Catholic standpoint. And until we produce our own, we must rely to a large extent on translations. The McVey Press, Philadelphia, gave us, in 1910, an English version of Lépin's *Jésus Messie et Fils de Dieu*. This was hitherto the best and most scholarly treatment of the subject from a Catholic pen that we possessed; and it remains indispensable for students and professors alike. But the two large volumes now under review are much fuller and more comprehensive. They have the German quality of thoroughness, without, be it added, the German defect of vagueness. They accomplish for us a task of great importance and no small difficulty, in as much as they supply a clue to the bewildering maze of "critical" theories upon the person and claims of Our Lord. Much more fully than was attempted by Lépin does Dr. Felder initiate us into the views of his fellow-countrymen, who for more than a century have been laying siege to the central citadel of the Christian faith. He cites at considerable length these writers themselves—many of them scarcely accessible to students outside the Fatherland. His knowledge of the literature gives proof of an admirable industry.

If he did no more than this, he would still have rendered the treatise *De Vera Religione* much easier to study and to teach. For the hypotheses of the "Higher Criticism," as it loves to call itself, have this about them that they destroy one another. Our author puts it perfectly when he writes: "One critic attacks another, until the last falls upon his own sword" (v. II, p. 16). There reigns in the critical camp a thoroughly Babylonic confusion. It was so from the start, and is so to-day. Thus while one school, the Liberal-Protestant, seeks to minimise as much as possible the

claims of Christ to Messiahship and Divine Sonship, or to explain them so as to fit in with its merely human Christ, who is yet the noblest, wisest, and holiest of men ; another, the Psychopathical and Psychiatric, insists strongly on these claims, because in them precisely it finds the proof that He must have been mentally unbalanced, an *exalté*, a fanatic suffering from megalomania. Again, while Harnack and his followers, who consider the claim to Sonship, understood ethically, the fundamental point in Christ's teaching about Himself, reject or whittle down the Messianic texts, so that Messiahship is nothing more than the duty of proclaiming the universal Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of men ; Loisy, from his standpoint, makes Messiahship, eschatologically interpreted, the primary and most important claim of Christ, and repudiates or distorts the passages referring to divine filiation. There is, indeed, hardly a single tenet of one school that is not cancelled by those of another.

But Dr. Felder, with astonishing patience, takes up one by one the various theories that have been framed to explain Christ while denying His divinity, and shows how impossible they are in themselves, and how utterly irreconcilable with one another. He begins with an examination of the chief sources—the Gospels. Here, fortunately, the critics themselves have made it easy for him to be brief. The triumph of tradition relative to the authenticity and historicity of the Christian sources has been almost complete. The differences separating any truly scientific criticism, however "liberal," from traditional views on this great question are now so slight as to be, from the apologist's standpoint, nearly negligible.

But, granting even the substantial accuracy of the Gospel narrative, the Messianic claims of Christ must be admitted as pertaining to the original tradition. And that raises at once the problem of His Messianic Consciousness—the most puzzling problem of to-day for liberal critics. Orthodoxy has no difficulty in the matter at all. He claimed to be the Messias and the Son of God because He was both. The claim would be inadmissible, and even blasphemous, if He were a mere man ; but it would be also inconceivable, and certainly unprecedented, if He were a mere man. And above all it would not have been confirmed by miracle, prophecy, perfect holiness of life, supreme excellence of doctrine, or finally, by the most paradoxical of triumphs—through what appeared, at first sight, the most complete and utter failure. God could not have thus set the sign-manual of His approval upon so gross an imposture, if imposture it were.

But the dilemma for rationalistic critics, whether they retain some shreds of the old German pietism or not, is very painful. They start with the fixed idea, as a basic principle, that the supernatural is impossible. With this presupposition, always assumed and nowhere proven, they set out to interpret documents instinct with the supernatural and the miraculous. To accept them at all, even while retaining the liberty of eliminating the clearest passages —a privilege liberal criticism never foregoes—is to be brought up against the old dilemma : Christ is either the Messiah and Son of God, or an impostor, or a madman. From this there is no escape ; and the various shifts made to evade the horns of it are pitiful in the extreme. Dr. Felder has little difficulty in exposing their weakness.

While the work will primarily appeal to students and professors of Fundamental Theology, it should also prove useful to anyone whose faith has suffered from vague and utterly unfounded fears of the "Higher Criticism." Preachers, too, who wish to lend solidity and interest to their sermons or conferences on the person and character of Our Divine Lord, will consult it with profit. A double index of authors and subjects completes each volume.

The Logia in Ancient and Recent Literature. Whether Papias, bishop of Hierapolis circa 120–130 A.D., deserved the injurious words of Eusebius that "he was a man of very small mind," is matter for controversy. But it is outside the sphere of controversy that he has caused no small stir in the modern world of learning. He would have needed a very remarkable gift of prophecy to foresee the use that would one day be made of his simple sentence : "Matthew composed the oracles of the Lord in Aramaic, and each one interpreted them as best he could." Liberal Biblical criticism has found in these words the starting point for its hunt after the "original" document or documents behind our Gospels ; and it is hardly credible how much nonsense has been penned in consequence. One of the pivotal points in the controversy has always been the precise meaning of the words *Λόγια Κυριακά*, the Logia of the Lord. The critics translated them as "sayings or discourses of the Lord," and drew the conclusion that the work referred to by Papias could not be identical in substance with our first Gospel, which contains much more than sayings. They thus got rid of Papias' testimony to our St. Matthew, the earliest, explicit, extrinsic proof that we possess. They were then entitled, as they thought, to dissect our text at will, rejecting what did not square with their theories as "not original," not found in that

wholly imaginary "Q," which could be made to take any shape and extent desirable.

Needless to say Christian tradition from the earliest days understood Papias as referring to our St. Matthew, and asserting that it was first written in Aramaic before being authoritatively reproduced in Greek. By "Logia" was meant "the oracles of the Lord." The phrase in the context is seen to be equivalent to "sayings and doings of the Lord." For we are told that Mark wrote of these as Peter preached them, and of the latter that he proclaimed them as occasion demanded, not making an ordered narrative of "the oracles of the Lord." Hence Logia could stand for more than Sermon on the Mount and similar utterances of the Master. The name suited the First Gospel admirably on account of the many discourses it contains.

Fr. Donovan, in this little brochure, sets out to show that the word Logia means oracles and is practically the equivalent of our "Inspired Word," or "Word of God," "Holy Writ," "Divine Revelation." This he does very convincingly by reviewing its usage in Classical Greek, in the Old and New Testaments, in Josephus and Philo, and finally in the early Fathers. He then concludes that in Papias the phrase *Λόγια Κυριακά* means "the Scriptures *pertaining to* the Lord," "Holy Writ *about* the Lord."

He is taken to task for this by a correspondent in *The Tablet*, Nov. 22, 1924, p. 697, who maintains that this is a forced interpretation, not necessary for the defence of tradition on the point. The objection would appear to be valid. *Λόγια* itself means "sacred sayings," "oracles," "inspired words." With *Κυριακά* added it should signify "sacred sayings or oracles of the Lord." Any other interpretation seems strained, and is not called for. Let us put for "Oracles of the Lord" the equivalent phrase "teaching or doctrine of the Lord." Surely this could stand as an alternative title for our St. Matthew. It is hypercriticism to say that such a title cuts out all the narrative. Men use looser synonyms every day, even the critics themselves, no doubt, when they are not citing the evangelists for criminal cross-examination. Hence it is possible to concede the first part of Fr. Donovan's contention without admitting the second. But though venturing to do so, I make haste to add that the little work does not lose its value on this account; it is a very scholarly contribution to an old but still living problem.

Pagan and Christian Rule. Milton tells us that in the beginning of time the Spirit of God sat brooding over the abyss of Chaos and

evolved the ordered cosmos we behold. There is a touch of anthropomorphism about this ; but we understand what is meant. And there are many who believe, or hope at least, that over the chaotic world of to-day the Spirit of God again sits brooding, intent on evolving some more tolerable and stable state of affairs than that which has been shattered by the shells. Dom Bévenot is one of these. But he is not a mere dreamer of dreams. On the contrary he keeps his feet firmly planted on the solid ground of history, and does not even lose himself in any misty optimism about the future. He is not sure that our European civilisation, which includes whatever civilisation exists in the Americas, Africa and Australasia, will find salvation. He knows that the Roman Empire perished because it did not know the hour of its visitation, and sees clearly enough that our neo-paganism may likewise perish. But he has hopes that it may not. The Church can save it still, if it is allowed to do so. The question turns on the action of men's free-will, and that no knowledge less than divine can forecast with certainty. But the present situation is obvious enough. Mr. Hilaire Belloc says in the Preface : " It is sufficiently clear to those who survey Europe in the mass and follow the full outline of their time, that our civilisation must return to the Faith or be destroyed."

To this theme Mr. Belloc has already devoted an able volume, *Europe and the Faith*, in which he proceeds by way of a vast *vue d'ensemble*, such as he loves and handles with great skill. Dom Bévenot prefers to drive home the same contention by a series of historical vignettes. He takes three critical periods of the past —the Age of Augustus, the Age of Theodosius, and the Thirteenth Century—examines them under the lens, and seeks to elicit the lessons they convey. He shows us the Church's task at each of these turning-points, how she faced it, and what measure of success or failure attended her efforts. He rightly insists upon the spiritual forces at work, as being the most important and decisive. Not on bread alone do individuals or communities live. The thoughts they think, the ideals they hold, the ethics they embrace in theory and practice—these things make destiny much more decisively than the clash of political or economic interests.

For a long time now there has been something wrong in thoughts, ideals, and ethics alike. This is too painfully manifest in the results to permit of doubt. And the question is, What of the future ? Our author, like Mr. Belloc, sees a conditional hope for our civilisation. Only on a Christian and Catholic basis can the world be rebuilt. This is a bold thesis, and would have excited derision twenty years ago. It will be disputed still, but with con-

siderably less derision. It needs to be proclaimed. "In history we must abandon the defensive," adds Mr. Belloc. And it is time that Catholics everywhere realised the strength of their position, not only in history but in every sphere of human activity. Far too long they have permitted their enemies in the intellectual warfare to dictate the strategy of the campaign, and have allowed their morale to be lowered by hostile propaganda. The Church has a mission to the world of to-day as it had in the days of Tiberius, and it should proclaim that mission as confidently as did the Apostles.

Dom Bévenot does so boldly, but soberly and judiciously. He is not afraid to admit defects, limitations and failures, partial or complete, on the part of the human elements in the Church. But he has no difficulty in demonstrating that Catholicism did in point of fact save Europe again and again ; nor any greater difficulty in showing that it and it alone can repeat the historical miracle of calling a Lazarus-like civilisation from the tomb where it is already beginning to corrupt—*iam foetet.*

Deux Arguments pour le Catholicisme. M. Eymieu has rendered the reviewer's task very light by giving in the Foreword a perfect résumé of his own work. I need simply translate it :—

> What then are the two arguments ? Here they are in skeleton :—
>
> 1. It is impossible for the Catholic religion not to present innumerable and manifest contradictions *in its body of doctrines* if it is not divine. But it does not, in point of fact, present such contradictions. Therefore it is divine.
>
> 2. It is impossible for the Catholic religion not to present *in the course of its history* innumerable and manifest doctrinal variations, if it is not divine. But it does not present these variations. Therefore it is divine. The first argument interprets the *coherence* of the doctrine ; the second its stability.

These two arguments have often been adduced as negative notes of divine origin. But our author contends that, taken together and viewed in their fulness, they can be said to be in themselves a positive proof—not the only one, of course, but for practical purposes sufficient. There is a slight element of pragmatism in the contention. But not all pragmatism is unsound ; and the author's position seems entirely justified. Further it is the kind of proof which appeals to many men, especially to those who have not the time or knowledge necessary for appraising the greater, and in themselves more cogent, arguments on which the Catholic position rests.

Each of the two arguments is developed at considerable length and enforced by a comparison with the doctrinal confusion and perpetual variation found in Protestantism from the start. Even the Eastern churches illustrate the arguments by various

inconsistencies, and they only escape indefinite variation by an immobility and intellectual torpor which reduce them to atrophy. They are like mummies that cannot move in their sarcophagi.

The reader is at once reminded of Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations*. But two and a half centuries of doctrinal disintegration have passed since he wrote ; and they make the argument immensely more impressive. As a contribution to what one might call apologetics for the plain man this little volume deserves a place in every library. P. J. GANNON.

Biography

ROMAN CONVERTS. By Arnold Lunn. London : Chapman and Hall. 1924. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

"THIS book is written in the hope that the reader may succeed where I have failed, and may find some satisfactory explanation for the fact that a Church, committed to beliefs which seem untenable, still continues to win converts from men not inferior in genius and in acuteness of thought to the heretics who remain outside her fold." It is thus that the Author states in his Preface the problem of which he essays in this book a solution. His introductory chapter is devoted to a development of this statement. He endeavours to show that the beliefs of the Catholic Church not merely "seem untenable," but are patently absurd, and that history, morality and science combine to discount her claims.

It is not possible to follow Mr. Lunn step by step in his argument. We can but quote samples here and there. Dealing with that branch of Catholic philosophy known as Natural Theology, he writes :—

> Father Boedder[1] proves conclusively that God's Being is "physically and metaphysically simple," which is reassuring, and he excites our religious fervour to white heat by his lucid demonstration that, "though God does not contain contingent perfections formally," He does "contain them eminently," which is much more than to contain them merely formally.

It is clear that Mr. Lunn is wholly unaware of the technical theological meaning of the propositions at which he sneers. A good deal of his indictment is of a piece with this beginning. "The Church taught an obscene conception of God" (p. 10), nay "for centuries taught men to worship a devil disguised as God" (p. 15). Curious that the great thinkers and saints from Paul of Tarsus to Pius X. should have consented to worship such a God ! True, Mr. Lunn thinks that the modern Church has quite changed her conception of God. Again, "the infallible Church did not give a

[1] Author of *Natural Theology* in the "Stonyhurst Philosophical Series" (Longmans).

single great ecclesiastic to the battle of humanity" (p. 13). One would have thought—to cite at random and post-Reformation examples only, that Charles Borromeo, Vincent de Paul, Bartholomew de las Casas, Peter Claver, Cardinal Lavigerie, Bishop von Ketteler, Father Damien, Don Bosco, Cottolengo, and Leo XIII. were great ecclesiastics who deserved tolerably well of their fellowmen. Nor need one be a great ecclesiastic to strike a blow in the "battle of humanity." Perhaps the peasant girls who founded the Little Sisters of the Poor struck as telling a blow as did any great ecclesiastic. We can only describe as cheap sneers the Author's remarks on a decision of the Biblical Commission concerning Genesis and on the quaint footnotes of the Douay Bible.

The Church and her teaching being all that Mr. Lunn represents them to be, one is not surprised that Mr. Lunn finds conversion a problem. That a thinking man should abandon the creed in which he was born and bred, break ties of blood and friendship, and oftentimes face poverty and social ostracism in order to enter such a Church, is indeed hard to understand. That tens of thousands should have done all this, and that many thousands besides, from the first days even to this present century, should have clung to such a Church, "in spite of dungeon, fire, and sword," is well-nigh past belief.

Mr. Lunn then proceeds to study the problem as it presents itself in five concrete instances—Cardinals Newman and Manning, Father George Tyrrell, Mr. Chesterton, and Father Ronald Knox. G. K. C. and Father Knox may be trusted to defend themselves, if they think it worth while. Indeed the former has already done so, to good effect, in the pages of the *Dublin Review*. Newman and Manning may be left to the verdict of history, while in regard to Father Tyrrell's tragic life, silence, perhaps, is best.

It would be unfair to the Author and his book to leave the impression that the former is an ignorant bigot of the Protestant Alliance type and the latter a mere partisan diatribe against the Church. Were they that we should not waste a line upon them here. No, Mr. Lunn has read widely and has bestowed no small pains upon his subject. He is capable of frank admiration for those whom he criticizes most severely. He charges Newman with credulity, superstition (p. 69), and contempt for truth (p. 67) and for reason (p. 69), but admits his absolute sincerity and attributes his conversion to genuine thinking (p. 65). What he says of certain minor shortcomings of that great man (p. 62) is, after all, not without foundation. His study of Manning is of the nature of an apologia. If he tries to discredit Mr. Chesterton (and incidentally

Mr. Belloc) as a historian and controversialist, he can say, "Much that he writes is shrewd and sane and true, the result of honest enquiry and deep reflection." And we may say as much of Mr. Lunn. Moreover he can, on occasion, deal as telling blows at Mr. Arnold Bennett and Mr. Joseph McCabe, Lytton Strachey and the Modernists as any he levels at Catholicism. One could even fill several pages with the nice things he says, here and there, about the Church.

Our final conclusion, however, must be that Mr. Lunn has wholly failed to solve his problem. The truth is that it is either a much bigger problem than Mr. Lunn even imagines, or it is no problem at all. It is no problem for one who accepts the supernatural origin and character of the Church. To one who denies her claims it may be presented thus.

We see in the world to-day an organization that is roughly one thousand nine hundred years old. It has been from the outset governed by an unbroken succession of old men who ruled with absolute authority, but were never at any time in a position to maintain that authority by force of arms. These old men and a number of other elderly persons scattered throughout the world have taught a body of doctrines and a code of morals of which they claimed to be the authoritative exponents. Most of these doctrines are of a highly supernatural character, being outside the domain of the physical sciences and beyond the ken of experience, believable only when vouched for by indisputable authority. Yet they have been accepted *and lived* by countless millions from age to age. From its earliest days this organization has been assailed by an uninterrupted series of critics and accusers, within and without. In the last three hundred years in particular every conceivable charge has been levelled against it and its rulers, its doctrines and its moral code. The libraries of the world are filled with books that refute its doctrines and deride its claims. Yet it numbers to-day some three hundred million members. This membership is (unlike Brahmanism and Judaism) confined to no race; unlike Fetichism, it is not the product of a lower stage of civilisation; unlike Islamism, its proselytes are not drawn from inferior races; unlike the various forms of non-Catholic Christianity, it is not merely local and national. It is not confined to the lower and unlettered orders; for it staffs and maintains universities in most of the civilised countries, and learning has always flourished within its pale. Nor is it a religion of aristocracy; for no religion is more popular. In a word, this organisation is world-wide. And it is everywhere the same, teaching the same things in Tahiti or Pekin

as in Georgetown University or Maynooth College. That is one side of the problem. But that is not all.

Ever since its foundation this organisation has been absorbing, not so much in masses as in units, men and women born and reared outside its pale, brought up, oftentimes, in hatred of all it stands for, pagans, Mahommedans, Jews, Russian Schismatics, Protestants, Agnostics, Freethinkers, and strayed Catholics. It would be easy to give long lists of each. Every religion, every social class, every race and nationality has furnished its contingent. All roads have led to Rome. Since Newman's day, close on a thousand clergymen of the Church of England have abandoned their livings to enter the Catholic Church as laymen. In America more than one Protestant Bishop has done the same. Had Mr. Lunn succeeded in explaining away the conversion of the five subjects he has chosen, he would have been but at the outset of a gigantic task. But as his opening paragraph admits, he has not succeeded in accounting even for these. There is another solution to the problem.

S. J. B.

Celtica

TORUIGHEACHT GRUAIDHE GRIANSHOLUS (*The Pursuit of Gruaidh Ghriansholus*). Edited and translated by Cecile O'Rahilly, M.A. London: Irish Texts Society. 1924. 25*s*.

THE volume which Miss Cecile O'Rahilly has edited for the Irish Texts Society, is a valuable contribution to the study of Irish literary history. In this romantic and rather well constructed little tale about Cú Chulainn, formed mainly out of reminiscences of the Ulster sagas flavoured with hints from adaptations of continental literature, lightened by passages of spirited dialogue in the author's own speech, and by little poems (probably of his own composition) introduced after the pattern of the metrical retellings so common in mediæval Irish literature, we see something of the dawn of a promising literary development in 17th century Ireland. It is a matter of history that the promise of the morn was not fulfilled; the stories which might have been the precursors of the Irish novel merely became material for folk tales.

In a remarkably informative and interesting Introduction Miss O'Rahilly shows that many of the motifs and incidents of the story can be paralleled not only in early Irish literature, but in other Celtic literatures and in Teutonic mythology; while there are incidents and phrases which suggest an acquaintance, direct or indirect, with classical authors. On the other hand she shows further that we have in the later fate of the story a striking demonstration of the truth of the remark made many years ago

by Professor MacNeill, that much of what passes for simple folklore has come to the people from literary sources, for she compares her text with a folk version taken down in Donegal by Mr. J. H. Lloyd and published by him in the *Gaelic Journal* in 1902. In an interesting account of the development of the Cú Chulainn cycle Miss O'Rahilly comments on its comparative unproductivity when contrasted with the continual redevelopment and remodelling and "fresh invention" which we find in the Finn cycle down to a quite recent period. While many of the Ulster tales, she observes, can be traced from the earliest surviving manuscript versions down to oral tellings in modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic, many others "have disappeared from modern literature"; some of the longer of the earlier tales having "apparently ceased to circulate in MS. form by the time the Modern Irish period began."

The suggestion that the disappearance of such tales as the Feast of Bricriu, the Sickbed of Cú Chulainn and the Wooing of Eimhear, and the survival of such as *Oidhe Chloinne Uisnigh*, *Oidhe Chonlaoich*, may be explained by the fact that the latter have in common a romantic rather than a heroic tendency is plausible; but it seems likely that the simple and homogeneous structure of these tales had a preserving effect; some at least of the "lost" stories had no elements of cohesion beyond the juxtaposition imposed by the scribes on their heterogeneous contents. Episodes may be transferred from one tale to another, or may themselves become, as they in many cases originally were, separate tales; a classical instance is the Fight with Fer Diad, the culminating episode in the Táin, for after Fer Diad's death the interest of the epic, save for a few minor episodes, is mostly geographical and sumptuary. Remembering the amount of MS. material which has perished, it is perhaps rash to assert confidently of any tale that it had "ceased to circulate in MS. form before the Modern Irish period began"; even if we bring the Modern Irish *a quo* down to the middle of the 17th century, which linguistically is rather late. It is worth noting that the 14th—17th century poets frequently use the Cú Chulainn tales as material for apologues, and Maol Seachluinn na nUirsgéal (15th century) uses in this way an incident from the Sickbed of Cú Chulainn (Louth Arch. Journ., Dec., 1921, p. 20, cf. *Reliquiae Celticae*, i 89). O Heódhusa describes Cú Chulainn's stand against the four Provinces (Ir. Monthly, 1921, 330) and Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh and Tadhg Mac Dáire refer to the story of Da Derga's Hostel (Contention v, vi.).

The author of *Tóruigheacht Gruaidhe Griansholus* was obviously acquainted with a copy of the Táin, some passages in his tale,

as Miss O'Rahilly shows in her notes, agree almost word for word with Windisch's edition. An interesting feature in tales worked up, like this one, from older material, is the way in which archaic words and phrases are frequently modified in order to make them intelligible to moderns. A curious instance of this is given in the note on *roighne robhaidh* (p. 82). We have another, I believe, in *rogha an urchair*, pp. 42, 118. The editor observes that this is for *rogha n-u.*, and it is true that *rogha*, as an old neuter, might be expected to retain its eclipsing *n-* in a stereotyped phrase ; but it can hardly be doubted that later writers (similarly, for instance, *Me Guidhir Fer Manach*, p. 25) have substituted *rogha an urchair* for the obsolete *rout* (*rofhut*, *rót*) *n-u.* Cf. TBC 3944, etc. The phrase *ní annsa*, "easy to tell," seems to be used in some cases without reference to its original meaning, and the rendering "nay," on p. 25, cannot be objected to. The obscure word *cliach* (p. 8) may not have been understood by the author himself. In panegyrical verse we often find such epithets as *cur Cliach*, *fer Cliach*, where the word is gen. of the place-name *Cliú*, and the author, whose own versification does not suggest that he had taken a high degree in the subject, may have taken the word in such cases to be an ordinary adjective. The phrase *re hucht naoise* (p. 60) is obscure, but the rendering given is very unlikely. If the whole line is not merely a perversion of something else, the most likely reading is *re hucht n-aoise* "on the verge of maturity," "ere the coming of age." In *samhnuidhibh* (p. 42) the—*amh*—may represent a nasalised *ú*, and the word is probably to be compared with *suainim* in *tuc a chorrmér i ssuainim na sleighe*, Acall. na Sen. 7709 (for *ú* from *ua* see Quiggin, *Dial.* p. 21). On p. 30 *béinneadhaibh* is dat. pl. of *béinne*, *méinne*, "company, retinue" ; see Irish Grammatical Tracts, Decl. p. 39, and Meyer's Wortkunde 48. The form *cumhthach* (p. 14, etc.) is curious. Is it a corruption of *cummach* (*combach*) "smiting ?"

Miss O'Rahilly's translation is excellent, and a pleasure to read ; and she has presented her text very well, although there is something to be said for the use of the hyphen in compound verbs, and one is sorry to notice that in common with most editors she prints compound names as single words. But happy the editor whose work offers so trifling a matter for criticism ; the book is on the whole the most interesting contribution to Irish scholarship that has been produced in these islands for many years.

E. K.

CAISLEAIN OIR. Máire do sgríobh. Sráid Bhaile Dúin Dealgan : Preas Dhún Dealgan. 1924. 6*s*.

SEO leabhar breágh ; ní'l locht agam air ar aon chuma, ach a mhalairt. An té ná béadh sásta leis, ba dheacair a shásamh, agus, dar ndóigh, níorbh fhiú é é. Tá an sgéal go h-áluinn, tá féith na sgríobhnóireachta san ughdar, tá buadh na h-iomháigheachta aige. Sé an leabhar is feárr agus is suimeamhla d'á bhfeacas le faid an lae.

Do léigheas " Mo Dhá Róisín " cúpla bliadhna ó shoin, agus gidh nach Ultach mé, do thaithn go mór liom. 'Tuige nach dtaithneóchadh, bhí sé chómh breágh san ! Chuarduigheas sa bhfoclóir gach focal ná raibh agam agus bhí toradh ar mo shaothar. Sé a bhí uaim iar a léighte ná ceann eile ó'n láimh chéadna, ceann chómh maith, mar adubhras liom féin ná féadfadh sé a shárughadh gan duadh.

Ach féach, sin dírcach mar a dhein sé ! An té go bhfuil " Mo Dhá Róisín " léighte cheana aige, tuigfidh sé gur mór an moladh é sin ; an duine nár léigh go fóill é, mo náire é mar Ghaedhilgeóir ! O thús deire ní'l ann ach an fhírinne, innste go deas cruinn, ar dóigh go measfá go rabhais ag féachaint ar na daoine is ag cainnt leó, tá siad chómh h-aigeanta, nádúrtha san. Chuir an chéad chaibidiol ag smaoineadh mé, connus mar a deineadh an Béarla a tharrac isteach trés na Sgoileanna " Náisiúnta." Ba mhaith a dheineadar san ; má fhéadaimíd-ne anois an cor céadna d'imirt leis an nGaedhilg, ní fada go mbeidh sí fá réim airís.

Dá n-éistfadh na daoine óga go bhfuil fonn ortha imtheacht thar lear le teagasg na sean-mhná, b'fhéidir go dtiocfadh malairt tuairime aca : " Biodh fhios agat nach sógh ar bith atá i ndán duit ar a' choigchrigh, 'S glas na cnuic i bhfad uainn "—agus machtnamh Shéimidh agus é go dubhrónach bocht i nAlbain : " A mháthairmhór, is tu a chan an fhírinne nuair a dubhairt tú go mbéinn tuirseach den choigchrígh. Tá an oidhche 'teacht, agus cá leagfaidh mé mo cheann ? " Nach maith a thuigeann Máire donas na h-imirce, " preátaí úra a d'fhás i gcréafóig na h-Eireann, eallach a ramhuigheadh ar a cuid bantaí, agus a chlann mhac agus nighneach le na chois sin. Iad féin agus saothar a gcuid lámh ag imtheacht thar sáile . . . . " Is feárr liom leigint do Mháire féin labhairt mar ná féadaim moladh ceart do thabhairt dó (is dócha go bhfuil a fhios ag gach éinne nach cailín modhamhail maiseach Máire, ach fear lághach macánta). Nach minic a thuit an rud so amach linn roinnt bliadhan ó shoin : " D'fhoscail me féin an doras. D'amharc mé amach agus chonnaic mé dhá sholus gheala ag teacht anuas an bealach mór. D'éist mé, agus le sin chualaidh mé trup an lorri."

Is furasta d'éinne a thuigsint gur fiú an leabhar so d'fhagháil

ar ais nó ar éigean agus é léigheamh airís is airís eile. Ní minic a thagann leabhar amach a bhíos chómh breágh deas suimeamhail. Tá a cuid oibre déanta go maith ag muinntir Preas Dhún Dealgan.

Go mairir i bhfad, a Mháire, agus nára fada go dtagann leabhar nuadh uait. Beifear ag feitheamh leis, geallaim duit A. O'F.

FIR MHORA NA h-EIREANN. Éamonn Mac Loingsigh, B.A., agus Aindrias Ó Baoighill a sgríobh. Preas Dhún Dhealgan do chuir i gclódh agus do chuir amach. 1925. 1*s.* 6*d.*

An ainm atá ar an leabhar so cuireann sé i gcuimhne dhúinn an leabhar do sgríobh Thomás Ua Concheanainn agus a chéile, 'sé sin, Laochra Gaedheal. Tá cosmhálacht ag ceachtar aca le na chéile ní h-amháin sa dteideal acht san adhbhar freisin mar tá cur sios ar na laochraib no ar na fearaibh mhóra chéadhna ionnta araon. An leabhar atá ós ár gcomhair amach ámhthach, tá sé sgríobhtha níos simplidhe agus na cunntais atá ann ar na fearaibh mhóra tá siad níos giorra. Leabhar an-oireamhnach do pháistibh sgoile is eadh an leabhar so agus is féidir leis an múinteoir tairbhe mór do bhaint as chun stair ár dtíre do mhúineadh dos na daoinibh beaga. Tá gach cunntas roinnte i n-altaibh gearra, cuir i gcás : Aodh Ó Néill, A Óige, Aodh 'na Iarla ar Thír Eoghain, etc. Mar sin eircóchaidh le duine an leabhar do léigheamh gan deacracht. Ins an leabhar tá tráchtais ar laochraibh mar Cholm Cille, Art Mac Murchadha agus Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill. Níl trácht ar aon fhear mhór a mhair tar éis aimsire Dhomhnaill Uí Chonaill, ní h-é sin a rádh, is dócha, ná raibh a leithéid ann acht b'fhéidir gur cheap na h-ughdhair nach bhfuil an t-am oireamhnach chun beatha na ndaoine seo do sgríobhadh fós. Tá cúpla nótaí le fághail sa leabhar acht is truagh gan níos mó díobh do bheith ann. Tá an leabhar cló-bhuailte go deas ; níl ag teastáil uaidh acht cúpla pictiúirí chum leabhar rí-dheas do dhéanamh de. C. S.

Education

THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION. An Examination of Educational Problems in the Light of Recent Scientific Research. By St. George Lane Fox Pitt. Revised Edition. Cambridge University Press, 1924. Pp. xvii., 92. 4*s.* 0*d.*, net.

This new and cheaper edition of a work first issued in 1913 is still rather high in price for its physical size. It is rare to find an English writer attempting to deal with the many general and fundamental problems in the theory of education ; and it is nothing wonderful, therefore, if this little work, dated from the Travellers'

Club, London, has called out a good deal of comment and discussion.

The psychology of the book includes, but can hardly be said to assimilate, Buddhism and Bergson, Myers and Maha-Sudassana-Sutanta, besides Huxley, James, Spencer, Freud, and the Sermon on the Mount. The place of religion, and particularly of the Christian Religion, in this medley of views, is that of a poor relation : the psychology of to-day, non-committal as to a soul, appears to be the guest of honour. The transient judgments of that psychology are accepted as final ; a conspicuous example is seen in the views on specialisation, which were already out of date before the volume appeared. Scientific Research is said to be the basis of Mr. Fox's work ; but it is dealt with mostly by the facile process of laudatory allusion, so common in inaugural addresses at Associations, and there is a rather ominous inclination to comment on responsibility for the Great War quite as freely as on the Great Complex, on Prussianised Germany as well as on the motive of Pleasure. No topic is adequately outlined, there are too many of them for the small number of pages.

There is one use to which it can be well put. Professor John Adams vouches for it. Its statements can be given to advanced students—with a view to re-statement after critical analysis. T. C.

THE GROWTH OF THE MIND. An Introduction to Child Psychology. By Professor Kurt Koffka, University of Giessen. Translated by R. M. Ogden. London. Kegan Paul, 1924. Pp. xv., 383. 15*s.* 0*d.*, net.

THIS excellent translation presents in a very readable form, without the interposition of much experimental technique, a very full summary of observations and experiments directed to sustain the Development theory of child psychology. The main mass of the facts presented can easily, as Wundt admitted before 1914, be set into direct relation with the Aristotelian philosophy, which unites biological and mental science into a complete whole. Professor Koffka devotes considerable attention to the experiments of Kóhler, and is not in agreement with the views of Thorndike on behaviorism. Colour-vision, grasping and touching, spatial factors are fully treated ; language, on the other hand, though by far the most significant element in mental development, is not formally treated. There are numerous incidental allusions to its development, and in particular to the phenomena of the transitional and largely factitious vocabulary of infant children, which would well repay systematic presentation.

Almost all the matter presented in this survey will be of direct service to those who are concerned in infant education and in its methods. So far from being the easiest line in the scientific organisation of method processes, it is by far the most difficult. Many of the modern method-mongers ignore this ; some even argue against it, and rely on " feelings " and " intuitions " in place of systematic procedure. It is only after the age of seven that, as Professor Koffka notes in his concluding pages, the world of the child begins to give way to the world of the adult, and so renders the organisation of education somewhat more simple. In this field the section on Imitation (pp. 307–319) and on Ideational learning (pp. 319–331) will be of great and direct service. They might well be studied by many who have circumscribed education within a fortress built of " didactic material." T. C.

Fiction

IN THE LAND OF YOUTH. By James Stephens. London : Macmillan. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*, net.

Time was when Mr. Stephens wrote for us about charwomen, policemen and fairies. That was in the days when he produced works such as *The Charwoman's Daughter* and *The Crock of Gold.* Of late years he has, however, " gone into Faery," as he would say himself, and for the less imaginative among us his so doing has proved a disappointment. It is not given to all of us to take an interest in, or to understand even, the doings of the *Shi.* True it is, no doubt, that like another celebrated Irishman, James Stephens could write beautifully about a broomstick. His command of words is wonderful. I know that it sounds like blasphemy in the ears of the many worshippers at the shrine of Mr. Stephens, but one may be permitted to hazard a conjecture whether words have now got command of him. Take for instance this passage selected at random :—

> They were not alone : they were together. They were not lonely : they were together. They were not uncared for : they cared for one another . . . . Separation might be for those who can be separated ; and unhappiness for such as know not how to love. Life ! what is it ? Death ! 'twas but a name.

The oratorical style of Mr. Chadband is recalled by phrases such as these.

In The Land of Youth contains without question much of the felicity of diction, the beauty of writing, which has made Mr. Stephens famous, which has transferred his books to the bookcase from the shop-counter, and which has (temporarily, we hope)

transported him from the National Gallery in Dublin to the lecture platforms of the United States. For all that, it is dull. This is the more surprising, as something of the charming personality of the author peeps out through the pages. But dull, to the plain people of the world it certainly is. The book is divided into two parts : *The Feast of Samhain* and *The Feast of Lugnasa*, and of these the second is the more readable. At least the story of Etain and Eochaid, with its complications of Ailill and Mirdir, though a fairy tale, or shall we say a tale of Faery, is more human in its appeal than that of the Pigs of Connacht and the Pigs of Munster which takes up a great deal of the first half. There is a vast quantity of reiteration throughout the book, and much use of wild and whirling words. Thus :—

She was a universe that thrilled in lightnings. That moaned in lightnings. . . . Green lightnings and red. Green soundless thunders. And a soundless roaring of red.

I assume that such sentences as these have a meaning in the mind of Mr. Stephens ; but, in all humility and in all candour, I confess they do not convey any meaning whatever to me. Moreover, I doubt gravely whether they convey much meaning—if any—to hosts of others. "*Green soundless thunders*"—— we have had nothing in Anglo-Irish literature to equal this since the historic " opal hush " of a quarter of a century back.

Having said so much in disparagement, let me quote one or two brief passages illustrating at the same time the qualities of Mr. Stephens as a stylist and as a shrewd student of human nature.

Nor man nor king can see unmoved the coming of a wind-filled sail, the coming of a lovely lady, the coming of a horse in speed.

This is well said. Could not be said better. And again :—

Jealousy in fact has nothing to do with sex. It is purely egoistic.

But few will find themselves in complete agreement with the following dictum :—

As those who can think are happy while they are thinking, he was not unhappy.

The reverse is nearer to the truth. It is mostly the non-thinkers who are happy.

It has been said of a well-known writer, Kipling if I am not mistaken, that in later years he fell into parodying himself. One is inclined to fear that Mr. James Stephens is in danger of a like catastrophe. It is not so much Stephens as imitation-Stephens that he is now supplying to his public. Perhaps, if he were to return from the land of the *Shí*, to revisit the glimpses of the moon—and of the

sun also—to move once more in a world of charwomen and policemen, he might be saved from the perils that seem to threaten. We may be in a position to congratulate him on having done so when he returns from the United States. W. D.

ELSIE AND THE CHILD. A tale of Riceyman Steps, and Other Stories. By Arnold Bennett. London: Cassell. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*, net.

God was good, but not too good. Joe dashed to the cupboard. She had the precautionary wit to shake the castor. It was empty, and she could not wrench the top off it. Between them they could not wrench it off. Months, decades, ages passed. The earth stood still. Eternity superseded time. Black shame enclosed Elsie. Tears gathered in her eyes. Joe grew incredibly, horribly blasphemous and obscene . . . . The top flew away. A tremendous, metallic clangour shook the air with a deafening and tyrannical summons. Expression of dire wrath from on high. What would THEY *say to Elsie when she returned to the dining-room?*

ALL this tumultuous language is employed by Mr. Bennett to describe the simple circumstance that Elsie (the servant) and her husband had some difficulty in removing the lid of a sugar-castor! It is typical of the author, for, as his readers—and they are numerous—know, it is one of his tricks of style to write of trivial things in superlative terms. This book begins with the story of *Elsie and The Child*, which he calls a "Tale of Riceyman Steps." It is not a tale in the accepted sense, but rather a character study of Elsie the maid-of-all-work, depicting her devotion to Eva, the invalid daughter of Dr. Roste and his wife. Those who have read and enjoyed *Riceyman Steps* will be glad to renew their acquaintance with some of the characters therein, but the majority of readers will probably derive more pleasure from the other stories.

Many of these are in Mr. Bennett's best manner, notably *Outside and Inside*, *Last Love*, *The Mysterious Destruction of Mr. Ipple*, and *The Limits of Dominion*, and higher praise need not be given them. They are characterised by that lucidity of thought, accuracy of description, and closeness of observation which are among the outstanding merits of this popular writer. There is to be found also in most of them that tendency to extravagance in words which has already been mentioned, and of which a specimen has been quoted. One expects to find this, however, in Arnold Bennett; it is an essential part of his style, and without it a book of his might resemble an egg without salt.

With one exception none of these stories is located in "the five Towns." Mr. Bennett has, so to speak, moved to London, and, save for occasional trips outside the metropolis, he keeps his readers there. In *Outside and Inside*, in *The Fish*, and in the

Destruction of Mr. Ipple we are entertained by the author's knowledge of theatrical life, and we observe him hitting rather hard, *more suo*, at various theatrical folk under somewhat tenuous disguises. Laughter holding both his sides has no place in this book, yet it contains that quality of ironic humour, not actually sardonic but just a little grim, which imparts a flavour to Mr. Bennett's writings. As witness this passage describing a middle-aged provincial actress rehearsing the part of Viola in *Twelfth Night* :—

> The next shock was the manner in which Aida delivered Shakespeare's verse, and in which Blenkhorn caused the other players to deliver it. As it issued from Aida's rubious lips, no one could imagine for a moment that it was blank. She gave it forth like thunder, like lightning, like shells from a twelve-inch gun, like thick clouds of vapour, like midnight motor-buses thundering through deserted thoroughfares. Curiously she never addressed any of it to the other characters in the play ; it was all directed straight into the auditorium . . . .

One can almost see and hear the lady.

I have omitted to mention *The Perfect Creature*, a very delightful episode in which two dilettante gentlemen, with the appropriate names of Edward Planta and Chains-Marlott respectively, are outdone in their suit for the hand of the fair Elvira by a chemical engineer, devoid of graces but thoroughly efficient. This is a story to be enjoyed, and the same may be said with equal certainty of *Last Love*, which forms a striking contrast. There is a hint of morbidity in such stories as *Nine O'Clock To-morrow* and *During Dinner*, but Mr. Bennett is apparently " out " to satisfy different tastes in these thirteen tales. In *The Limits of Dominion* we are back to " the Five Towns," and we get the grit (happily not, on this occasion, the smut) of that industrial region as Mr. Bennett has made us familiar with it.

Altogether, the book is excellent reading, and if it does not actually enhance the reputation of the author, it in no way diminishes or detracts from it. W. D.

History

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE REFORMATION. By James MacKinnon, M.A., Ph.D., D.D. Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh. London : Longmans. 1924. viii. + 351 Pp. 8vo. 16*s*. net.

THE declared aim of this work is " to review the subject as a whole from the available original sources, with the aid of the more recent investigations bearing on specific parts or aspects of it ; " and so to supply what is wanting in the incidental and imperfect treatment it has received from general historians and in the inadequate and

antiquated works of Cosmo Innes and the superseded researches of W. F. Skene. The undertaking is meritorious; it has great difficulties; they are faced with confidence; but scarcely with a full appreciation or with preparation and equipment to overcome them satisfactorily.

In the first of the three periods into which the study falls, that is, the Celtic period, Professor MacKinnon's first-hand acquaintance with original sources that should be consulted by any serious inquirer is far from exhaustive, even if regard is had only to what has been published with English translations. Apart from the *Leabhar Gabhála*, the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, and the *Amra Choluim Chille*, his authorities include no Gaelic texts, and he has been content to rely even on the superseded Skene for entries drawn from Irish Annals published independently since Skene's time. With great gravity Bede and Bede only is cited for the Dalriadic settlement alleged to have been made in Britain during the third century (for which date Bede gives no warrant), and this note is added: "Professor Watson thinks that Bede got his information from Adamnan, and if so the statement may be considered as reliable." There is much virtue in an "if"; but surely something more is needed to establish testimony given hundreds of years after the event. Dr. MacKinnon thinks, on his own account, that "it finds some confirmation in the epistle of St. Patrick to Coroticus, in which he mentions Scots and Apostate Picts," as joined with the soldiers of Coroticus in their barbarities in Ireland; and the ultimate conclusion on this problematical evidence is that the settlement under Reuda or Riata in the third century may be authentic. Obviously no aid has been drawn from Professor MacNeill's adverse conclusions on this very subject, published so far back as 1919 in his *Phases of Irish History*. It may also be noted here that as Professor MacKinnon quotes from O'Beirne Crowe's version of the *Amra*, he is apparently unaware of Whitley Stoke's more authoritative edition, whose valuable excerpts contain evidences concerning the Dalriadians that might have led him to a truer notion of their sea-divided kingdom, and enabled him to put the Convention of Druim Ceatt in its place as the first recorded constitutional event for the colony which developed into the kingdom of Scotland.

Another instance of defective and uncritical use of authorities is seen in the statement about the Saxons that "Bede definitely places their arrival in Britain in the year 449." No one can compare the three passages in which Bede refers to that event without being struck with his care to be indefinite; and moreover the judicious

scholar whose edition of Bede is the stated authority takes pains in this place to warn readers that Bede never professes to know the exact year of the first settlement of the Saxons ; he placed it ' about ' this time for no other reason than that he found it referred to after the mention of the mission to Aetius in the querulous, inconsequent, rhetorical Gildas, who, and not Bede, is the original source, so far as there is one, of a date for which no modern authority will contend. Even the superseded Skene calls it the purely artificial date of a mere legendary account, in a passage which Professor MacKinnon had before him, and which begins " When Bede states emphatically that in the year 449 " etc. " Emphatically," it must be admitted, is even worse than " definitely " in this connection ; but Skene had not the advantage of Plummer's warning.

Scottish ecclesiastical records for the Celtic period are deplorably scanty, and it need be no cause for wonder if an unsympathetic writer, cut off by all his training and associations from the sentiment and the tradition of the ancient Church, should miss the true path of its history. Even in Ireland we have felt the obfuscation that has been wafted like a Druid's spell over the relations between abbots and bishops in early times. Bede is made responsible for much of it. Stress is laid on the importance he ascribes to the Abbot of Iona, as a sort of director-general of the North British mission ; and it is concluded that independent of him the bishops had no jurisdiction, that they had no determined dioceses, that if they had a faculty to administer sacraments and perform functions peculiar to their office, they could not exercise it without the abbot's authority. This is maintained even against Bede's own plain testimony. Strange as he thought it that Aidan should make his abode at Lindisfarne and observe there the rule of monastic life, he has, at the same time, depicted him as an active diocesan exercising his episcopal functions regularly and independently in the kingdom of Northumbria, which was his bishopric, as also did his successors, Finan and Colman, though they were all of them monks. Yet so free were they from monastic subjection that when Colman relinquished his British see, he was not recalled to Iona, but chose for himself a place of retirement in Ireland.

A point like this, however, a Protestant writer, naturally, will not estimate with a Catholic mind. One cannot expect it. But from every historian one has the right to expect common-sense and, in examining evidence, a diligence proportioned to his claim to correct deficiencies. Kenneth MacAlpin, we are told,

> Seems to have carried out one important piece of legislation in the introduction of the episcopal form of government into the Pictish church in place of the old monastic rule which had prevailed from the time of Columba. In his reign the

first Bishop of Pictland or Fortrenn, Tuathal by name, whose episcopal see was at Dunkeld, makes his appearance . . . In the middle of the next [*i.e.*, the 9th] century another innovation—that of the episcopal system of government in place of the Scottish monastic system—followed. . . . At this time the first Bishop of Fortrenn, which seems to have been equivalent to Alba, emerges with Dunkeld as his episcopal seat. The episcopal office in the matter of ordination, but without episcopal jurisdiction, existed in the monastic church . . . at Iona. . . . . But such bishops were titular rather than diocesan, and for long there was only one territorial bishop in Alba and the later Scotia.

These statements and their implications are such that one must borrow from Caledonia herself and her race of dominies the fitting epithet—"Prodigious!" Fortrenn, named from the ancient Verturiones, was not the whole of Pictland; it was but one of the seven provinces, and in later times was represented by the diocese of St. Andrew's before Brechin was picked out of its heterogeneous populace. This mention of its bishop had not its original source in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, and we have again an instance of the dangers of second-hand quotations. If Professor MacKinnon had turned to the Rolls edition of the *Annals of Ulster* he would have found the original at A. D. 864: "Conmael equonimus Tamlachta 7 Tuathal mac Artgusso prim-epscop Fortrenn 7 abb Duinn Caillenn dormierunt." If he had inquired why the Irish designation *primh-epscop* was injected into a Latin entry, he would have got the answer from Reeves in his work on the Culdees, where he quotes an ancient Irish text ascribing to Patrick himself the law that there should be a *primh-epscop* in every *tuath*, the Scotic analogue of the Pictish *provincia*; and fortified with this knowledge he might have seen reason, on better grounds than Skene, to infer that there was a diocesan bishop for every *provincia* of the Picts as for every *tuath* of the Scots, by whom their Church was founded. He would have recognised that *prim-epscop* is not first bishop in order of time. Nay more, with a larger acquaintance with the sources, he would have seen in the life of S. Fintan of Rheinau, edited in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, positive proof of 10th century date that, many years before Kenneth came to the throne, a native bishop, but educated in Ireland, had been found in the ordinary course of events seated in the extreme north of Pictland in his own episcopal *civitas* without the shadow of an abbot falling on him. The special significance of the entry in the Annals is that the primacy of all Alba had been established at Dunkeld, as a result of Kenneth's removing the chief seat of government from his native kingdom to Scone in his added territory, just as in Ireland the metropolitan see of Leinster passed from Kildare to Ferns when the kingship passed from the northern to the southern branch of the royal line of Leinster.

In the section devoted to feudalism much industry is shown in developing the well-known features of English feudalism, not as seen in actual operation beyond the Tweed, but according to the words of laws and charters often of disputed authenticity, even of acknowledged "fabrication." Professor MacKinnon recognises that the documents that have passed for early enactments of King David and a number of his successors should be subjected to modern criticism, and he has found research hampered by the uncertainty of the date and the authority of what are called the "Regiam Majestatem" and the "Quoniam Attachiamenta"; but he has not thought it incumbent on himself, before writing this Constitutional History, to apply such criticism and to sift and test the material that was to be his ground-work. He has nothing to say of Edward I's Ordonnance of 1305, although its constitutional significance is obvious. "Regarding the laws and usages for government of the land of Scotland," it begins, "it is ordained that the usages of the Scots and Brets shall be forbidden henceforward, so that they shall be used no longer." This is clear proof that the ancient customary law was in force and operation generally up till that time. It was now to be swept away at the will of a conqueror; and what was to take its place? King Edward will send down his lieutenant provided with the laws made by King David and other kings, they will be rehearsed before the assembled people; after this they will be revised by the lieutenant and his mixed council of English and Scots, and then brought up to Westminster by deputies elected and empowered to settle them finally in consultation with those whom Edward will appoint. Here we see the old customary law still in being and King David's laws yet to be reformed and adopted.

What were these laws of King David brought down to Scotland by King Edward's lieutenant, and whence did they come? Were they that single roll of the ancient laws of Scotland found amongst the records of the Crown at Edinburgh and carried off in 1291, or were they the precious "Regiam Majestatem" and "Quoniam Attachiamenta" (a transcript from the late 12th century English compilation improbably attributed to Granville), foisted, if not by Edward I, certainly by Scottish lawyers and historians for a couple of hundreds of years upon their countrymen as national institutes? In solving such questions and in tracing the actual introduction, spread and operation of feudalism from recorded events, the acumen and industry of a constitutional historian would be employed more usefully than in assiduously piecing together data from documents whose period and authenticity have yet to be established. C. McN.

THE INQUISITION. A Political and Military Study of its Establishment. By Hoffman Nickerson. With a Preface by Hilaire Belloc, and two maps. London: John Bale, Sons and Danielsson. 1923. 15*s.* net.

Mr. Belloc is in luck. Here is an American who believes with all a convert's faith in the main articles of the Chesterbellocian creed —drink, democracy, France, the Faith (Mr. Nickerson calls himself an "Anglo-Catholic"), common-sense and the soldier's point of view; who has imitated Mr. Belloc's own dogmatic style; and who shares Mr. Belloc's passion for highly-simplified strategic maps. Moreover, the occasion of the book is altogether in the Chesterbellocian manner. "It was begun," so the dedication tells us, "during a term in the New York State Legislature, when I endured Prohibition lobbyists and cast about for something which might serve as a historical precedent in the way of religio-political oppression on so vast a scale." "Anglo-Catholics" are usually more Protestant than they themselves suspect, and it was natural that Mr. Nickerson, smarting under Puritan persecution, should find his historical precedent in the Spanish Inquisition. For it is an article of the Chesterbellocian faith that the modern campaign for Prohibition is—to quote our author—"a great attack on human liberty"; and all good Protestants have been taught to believe that the Spanish Inquisition was that, and nothing else.

I wish Mr. Nickerson had taken us a little more into his confidence. That he changed his mind whilst writing this book is plain from the many inconsistencies which an amused reader may note in its pages. Was the Inquisition an attack on human liberty or a defence of human civilization? On this point, at least, Mr. Nickerson seems to have begun his book as an orthodox Protestant, and ended it an orthodox Catholic. But then, why does he end with an "Epilogue on Prohibition" in which the old parallelism is reasserted and developed? Would it not have been more logical to compare his modern American Puritan with the Albigensian fanatics against whom Simon de Montfort led his crusade? Both heresies are Manichaean in spirit and the Albigensians, as Mr. Nickerson himself notes, owed their success to the backing which they received from great financial and political interests—interests, then as now, in close touch with the Jews. Surely, here was a theme for a disciple of Belloc! But Mr. Nickerson has, apparently, only half rid himself of the prejudices with which he began his book, and his logic suffers. All the same, I commend the "Epilogue" to those who care for good Bellocian controversy with Puritans and Prohibitionists.

Of the Inquisition itself, Mr. Nickerson says next to nothing; indeed the Holy Office was barely in existence at the time of which he writes. The book is really an account—fresh, clear and well-written—of the Albigensian Crusade. Simon de Montfort plainly has our author's whole-hearted sympathy. Was he not a true French soldier, leading a national crusade against the enemies of civilisation? And here again I should have liked a word with the author. Was he, or was he not, himself a soldier in the great war? I find it hard to believe that the military chapters in this book were written by a man who has never gone campaigning; and Mr. Belloc, in his preface, rightly singles out the account of the Battle of Muret, given in chapter V., as the work of a student who has seen and thought for himself. So too, the introductory description of the terrain in which the Crusade was waged for twenty long years reads like the work of a soldier who has himself been over the mountains and valleys about which he writes. But why spoil a good military history by describing it as a history of the Inquisition?

For, truth to tell, Mr. Nickerson knows very little about the Inquisition itself, and seems to care even less. The Bibliography which he gives at the end of his book would make any professional historian shudder. It follows no particular order, includes Mr. Chesterton on Shaw with sundry other unexpected items, and begins with the following naive admission: "The subject of the Inquisition has been worked over so often that it is doubtful whether renewed searching of the original authorities would yield great profit. The law of diminishing returns comes in." Alas! The history of the Inquisition has indeed been worked over more than once, and by controversalists as breezy and as careless of research as Mr. Nickerson himself. What help is it, for example, to be reminded that lynch-law still prevails in America, or to have Kipling quoted on the ethics of torture as a punishment for natives? Even the following, though good, will not answer all our difficulties: "The officer who introduced the "water-cure" into the American Army happens to be known to the writer, who can warrant him a most kindly man who would not hurt so much as an insect except in line of duty." The "water-cure," be it known, is the identical form of torture used by the Spanish Inquisitors under Torquemada; brought by the Spaniards into the Philippines; learnt from them by the natives; and learnt in due time from the natives of the Philippines by this well-meaning American officer. So much for twentieth-century progress! But for the facts about the Inquisition, the rights and

wrongs of a grave theological problem and much else that is of interest even to twentieth-century readers, I refer the student—not to Mr. Nickerson's politico-miltary study, but to Vacandard's able monograph on the Inquisition, published by Bloud in 1907, since translated into English and published by Longmans under the title: "The Inquisition: A Critical and Historical Study of the Coercive Power of the Church." I owe my knowledge of this English translation to Mr. Nickerson's Bibliography; it is characteristic of his methods that the date of publication is not given.

A. G.

Imagery

POETIC IMAGERY ILLUSTRATED FROM ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE. By Henry W. Wells, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Milford. 1924. 8*s.*

THE PARABLES AND SIMILES OF THE RABBIS. Agricultural and Pastoral. By Rabbi Asher Feldman. Cambridge: University Press. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE EXEMPLA OF THE RABBIS. By Moses Gaster, Ph.D. London-Leipzig: The Asia Publishing Co. 1924. 42*s.*

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS LIKE . . . . By Constance L. Maynard. London: R. T. S. 1924. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The subject of imagery—the illustration of the immaterial world of concepts by pictures of objects drawn from the material world around us, is one that for some time past has been receiving increased attention. It is of no small importance, not only from the literary standpoint but from that of philosophy and even of religion. We group together here some recent works dealing with various aspects of the subject.

The first approaches it from a frankly literary angle. Its aim is "to trace the character and degree of imaginative activity in poetic metaphor." To this aim the scope is strictly limited. And to give his study still greater precision the author confines himself to the literature of the age of Shakespeare. An introduction, very interesting and suggestive, though at times a little vague and wordy, discusses the general bearings of the subject, the circumstances that "arouse poetic imagery," the alleged drawbacks of metaphorical expression, and so forth. Then the author discusses in as many chapters seven categories of images—the Decorative Image, the Sunken Image, etc., with copious quotations, each of which is critically analysed. The classification of the metaphors appears to us somewhat fanciful and the criticism even more subjective and personal than literary criticism usually is. Yet there

is much careful and thoughtful analysis, and the whole forms a wonderful literary panorama of that period of riotous imagination and teeming fancy.

RABBI ASHER FELDMAN'S book needs no commendation to the readers of Jewish race and religion for whom it is principally intended. Its interest and value for them is obvious. But it may be commended to Christian readers of two classes in particular—students of the Bible and members of, and sympathisers with, the Catholic Guild of Israel.

The Bible on its human side is the creation of the Jewish race. From Genesis to the Apocalypse it breathes the spirit, reveals the soul of that extraordinary people. But the Bible does not comprise the whole of the literature which it produced. In the centuries that preceded and the centuries that followed the advent of our Saviour a body of literature was produced[1] which the Jews regard in much the same light as they regard the Bible itself. It is due to that class of professional expounders of the Bible familiar to us in the New Testament under the name of Scribes or Rabbis.[2] This Rabbinical literature is comprised in the Targums, the Mischnah, and the Talmud (a commentary on the Mischnah), all of which are almost exclusively exegetical expositions of the Hebrew Bible itself. The value of this literature for the light which it throws on the Bible has long been recognised. Such scholars as Schürer and Edersheim explored it thoroughly. Catholic Biblical scholars, such as the authors of the *Etudes Bibliques*, that monument of biblical erudition created by the Dominican school of Jerusalem, have also exploited this field. In particular the imagery of the Rabbinical literature has been studied by Paul Fiebig in his *Ancient Jewish Parables and the Parables of Jesus* (Tubingen, 1904), and more recently by Pêre Buzy in his *Introduction aux Paraboles Bibliques* (Paris : Gabalda, 1912). The latter's conclusion is that the parables of the Gospel stand out above the Rabbinical *meshalim* by the whole height of revelation and divinity. Rabbi Feldman, on the contrary, contends that no fair-minded person who reads the parables and similes set forth in his book " will deny them at least an equal measure of the grandeur of revelation and the spirit of the divine." Be that as it may, this scholarly book is of great value to students of the Bible for the light it throws on the workings of the Jewish mind and on the social and domestic conditions of the times.

[1] Much of this was oral, the " traditions " referred to by our Lord (Matth. xxiii., 3, 4), and was not written down till the second century A.D.

[2] In the original Greek γραμματευς ; also νομικος, νομοδιδασκαλος translated " lawyer " in our version. The corresponding Hebrew is *Sopherim*.

For the former reason it ought to be of great interest also to those who have devoted themselves to the conversion of the Jewish race. No doubt the first qualification for one who would make converts to the Christian faith is an intense conviction of its truth, a firm grasp of all its principles, and a thorough knowledge of its doctrines. But next to that, can any qualification be more helpful than a sympathetic understanding of the prospective convert's outlook and frame of mind? In India Robert de Nobili was long ago a pioneer in this, but it is only of recent times that missionaries as a whole have come to realise it fully. The life work of Father William Wallace[1] and the little periodical, the *Light of the East*, are symptoms of this growing conviction. Rabbi Feldman's book will help to the sympathetic understanding of the Jewish mind.

The foregoing remarks apply in a certain measure to the somewhat similar work of Mr. Gaster. His book is a collection of some 450 apologues or fables and anecdotes intended for the most part to illustrate some moral concept. Abstracts or summaries of all these *exempla* are given in English (184 pages). The Hebrew text of a certain number of them is printed *in extenso* from the oldest Hebrew MS. yet recovered (208 pages). The remainder of the 560 pages is occupied with editorial matter. This consists of an extensive bibliography of Jewish and of general literature, followed by an introduction dealing with the tales and legends scattered through the Talmud and Midrash and with published collections of the same. What to many will appear the most valuable portion of the book is a collection of references, for each of the 450 *exempla*, to parallel tales or allusions in world literature, 4,000 references in all—an immensely laborious compilation. Finally, the author provides an elaborate index to names and subjects. The work is the fruit of twenty-five years of research among Hebrew MSS. and rare Hebrew books in the possession of the author.

What is the value and interest of these *exempla*? The book is " primarily intended for the use of scholars and students " (Pref.), students of Hebrew literature and folklorists. To the latter, in particular, it will be of interest as affording many parallels with general European folklore of the Middle Ages. For these *exempla* cover a period of close on 1,500 years. The book is scarcely intended for the general public. The tales are deprived of whatever literary value they may possess by being given in résumé. And a great proportion of them must appear trivial and absurd, at least to our Gentile way of thinking. But the work is a rich quarry for the student, and the author deserves his best thanks.

[1] *From Evangelical to Catholic by Way of the East* (Calcutta, 1923) is the title of his recently published biography.

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The fourth book on our list approaches the subject of parable from a wholly different angle, that of Christian thought and piety. Its theme is not, as one might be led to expect, the parables of the Gospel, but the symbolism of Nature. The idea of Nature as a revealer of God and the supernatural is a very ancient one. It goes back at least to the Book of Wisdom (ch. xiii.), a passage not mentioned by our author. St. Paul takes it up again in the first chapter of his epistle to the Romans. It was a favourite study of the early Fathers (Melito of Sardis in particular) and of the Middle Ages, and has been dealt with in modern books such as Mgr. de la Bouillerie's *Symbolisme de la Nature* and Marshall's *Nature as a Book of Symbols*. Yet this unpretentious little book contrives to treat it with freshness and suggestiveness. It first discusses the general principle that Nature has been foreordained to speak to us of things divine. Then it develops a series of eight "parables," *i.e.*, groups of facts taken from Nature, viewed in the fuller light of modern science, and finds in them analogies to, and parallels with, certain beings and laws of the spiritual world. Once more

Sermons in stones, books in the running brook . . . .

Thus the power and activity of the Sun is taken as an image of the power and activity of God, the solar spectrum as an image of the Trinity. Similarly, scientific facts concerning electricity, germinating seeds, interstellar space, and our atmosphere are "translated into the world of the spirit." The author illustrates her work by passages of Scripture and by some pleasing verse taken for the most part from little known writers, such as Hodgkin, Whytehard, Bonar, A. L. Waring, T. T. Lynch, etc. The style is certainly feminine, if that be a fault, but the little book is pervaded by a spirit of deep and earnest piety, and there is little or nothing to which a Catholic could take exception. S. J. B.

Studies in Literature

THE HIDDEN IRELAND. A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century. By Daniel Corkery. Dublin : M. H. Gill. 1925. Pp. xx., 306. 12*s.* 6*d.*, net.

MR. Corkery's long-expected volume takes as its special process of exposition the placing of Munster poetry in its social, political, and material environment during the period of the Penal Code. It is rare to find such a framework so well wrought to contain and to explain the literature of an epoch in a nation's life. One would search in vain for it in modern English writing ; it would be far easier to find in French, for it is really done throughout in the French manner. Yet Mr. Corkery's style enriched, made more

vivid and personal since he gave us *The Threshold of Quiet*, gives to the whole of this book a depth and warmth of tone, a kindliness of confidential discussion, which France cannot match.

The Hidden Ireland should do much to re-establish among us the human study of Irish literature. For all the author's delicate dealing with the Renaissance in Europe and its modified influence on our Gaelic Ireland, the best product of the Renaissance in the region of literature is to be found in these pages. Had that great movement done nothing more than provide the plan by which a national literature, a school of poetry, a single writer should be studied and expressed, it had done its work fully and well. It is this durable result of the Renaissance that is embodied in Mr. Corkery's exposition of the literature of what he calls the Attica of Ireland, South-West Munster. Here you will find the deep wells of great poetry ; the exaltations, passions, agonies of a cultured people placed in servitude, yet confident of their cause, and expectant of the day to come. The free winds of the country-side beat round every page of *The Hidden Ireland*. The inconstant prettinesses and pettinesses of what has recently been called Anglo-Irish literature are sorry screeds indeed when compared with the living and burning flames of the spirit, breathed forth by a real and enduring nation.

The stranger, and the alien within the gates of Ireland, always passed that Hidden Ireland by. From Arthur Young to Lecky, they were all purblind as to the real Ireland ; they were not even as observant as Moore, when standing beside O'Curry's desk he admitted that he should never have ventured to write a history of Ireland. Readers of good will may here find the real literature of Ireland in its proper environment, its tenderness of emotion, its earnestness of prayer and and faith, its vehemence, its utter candour, its fierce delight in the clash of ideas and ideals. No technical scholarship in Irish is needed to sound its depths, for Mr. Corkery is a poet, a man of letters, not a grammarian or an archaeologist. The book is literary exposition which uses the sovereign Key of Poesy to open Poesy, as George Chapman defined to be the true student's way. So it must be, even when we deal with the writers of a period when Clan Lobus built itself the barbaric Big Houses that are now in their ungracious stage of senile decay, and when Irish Ireland was a peasant nation, wherein " the cabins were the custodians of its mind." To improve house or land meant a heavy increase of rent, even if it did not mean eviction. How it fared with certain finer spirits that more or less attorned to the Ascendancy, may be read of with advantage in Mr. Corkery's pages on Pierce FitzGerald and on Michael Comyn.

Works like this for the Irish Ireland of North-West Ulster, of the Oriel region, of the Decies, of Connacht, would make the literature and the life of the real Ireland of the recent past a commanding power in education. It is certain that no English literature could equal its human value, its national appeal. Those conversant with these various bodies of modern Irish literature can learn from the masterly synthesis, presented in *The Hidden Ireland*, how this work may fittingly be handled. Mr. Corkery has dealt nobly with Desmond ; but Desmond, for all its attractiveness, is not the only realm of Irish poetry and Irish life. T. C.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH NOVEL. From the Beginnings to the Renaissance. By Ernest A. Baker, D.Lit., M.A. London : Witherby. 1924. 16*s.* net.

THE title of this book would seem to guarantee the interest of its contents. Historical studies of particular *genres* of literature are, as a rule, interesting only to those who are thoroughly conversant with the matter in hand. But here is a *genre* in which we are all at home. However small our literary pretensions, we have all at least read a great many novels, and we know or think we know, a good novel when we see it. We have even a few old friends among novels with whom we are thoroughly at home, and we should take a lively interest in seeing them fitted into their proper place in an historical outline. It is disappointing, then, to have to record that this is not an interesting book. Erudite it certainly is, as one would expect from the author of the "Guide to the Best Fiction in English," but not interesting.

Let us say at once that in the main the fault lies not with the author but with his matter. Dr. Baker at the outset defines the novel as "the interpretation of human life by means of fictitious narrative in prose." If by "human life" he understands—as it seems to us he does—"some phase or aspect of human life," the definition is a good working one. Taking this definition then, it is at once clear that, looking back beyond Richardson and Fielding, or at any rate beyond Defoe, there is nothing in English literature that comes under it. This Dr. Baker acknowledges on the first page of his book. We resign ourselves therefore to three hundred pages of the history of the English novel during a period when the novel was undreamed of, or at best, crudely adumbrated.

Not that much of deep interest and beauty is not to be found, for example, in the growth of the Arthurian legend from its earliest form as mere fiction in the hands of a Gildas or a Geoffrey of Monmouth to its perfection as a prose romance in Malory, or in the

examination of the various English prose romances that found their inspiration in the *chansons de geste*. But even to follow such a topic of interest we have to wade through a mass of information, carefully collected and documented indeed, but bearing often—as is inevitable—on obscure works, utterly unknown to even the ordinary well-informed reader. Further, the very completeness which makes the treatment admirable from the point of view of erudition, often tends to obscure the precise line of thought the author is following. To take an example at random from the chapter on the formation of the Arthurian cycle, we hardly feel inclined to pause while Dr. Baker enters into a detailed discussion as to whether Gawain were not originally the hero of the quest of the Holy Grail instead of Perceval. For the ordinary reader, with Galahad safely enshrined in his affections, it is enough to know that Galahad ousted them both.

But it is always difficult to tread the straight path between over-erudition and jejuneness. Let us acknowledge, too, that it is no easy task to survey in three hundred pages an enormous mass of literature, much of it crude, much of it probably not surviving because of its value, but only valuable because it has survived. Our disappointment at not finding Dr. Baker's book more interesting is no doubt largely due to the deceptive nature of its title. We look forward with interest to the two succeeding volumes on *The Establishment of Realism* and *The History of the Modern Novel*.

F. McG.

Music

1. *THE NEW ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS*. Edited by Waldo Selden Pratt. Hartford Seminary Foundation. London: Macmillan. 1924. 30*s*. pp. 967.
2. *A DICTIONARY OF MODERN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS*. General Editor: Dr. Eaglefield Hull. London: Dent. 1924. 35*s*. pp. 544.

1. Professor Pratt's *Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians* is a genuine desideratum for a busy man; it may well be described as a compendium of the five volumes of Grove's *Dictionary* brought up to date from Riemann's invaluable *Musik Lexikon* (1924). Detailed biographies are given of musicians since 1700, the merest paragraph being assigned to composers and theorists of the years 1200–1700.

I cannot do better than give the following statistical summary of Pratt's work:—Part I consists of about 1,450 articles including terms, dances, notation, church music, former instruments, etc. Part II gives memoirs of 4,500 musicians since the year 1700.

Part III presents facts about the organisations and institutions in over 200 cities and towns throughout the musical world, followed by a chronological list of operas and oratorios since 1900.

Taken all round, it is an excellent work of its class ; but, unfortunately, is not altogether accurate in various phases of Church music, while the references to Irish musicians are few. The names of Hay, Larchet, MacCormack, O'Dwyer, Lacy, O'Brien, Rogers, O'Connor Morris and others are not mentioned, while in the account of Dublin institutions the National University is ignored.

2. The *Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians*, with a strong editorial committee under the General Editorship of Dr. Eaglefield Hull, is a valuable work of reference. As explained in the Preface, the scope of the work is limited to musical matters since the year 1880, and thus it gives us in detail the musical outlook for the past forty-four years. National sub-editors have contributed the necessary material, *e.g.*, Dr. Einstein for Germany, Dr. Alaleona for Italy, Dr. Prunières for France, Dr. Van den Borren for Belgium, while the articles relating to Ireland are signed by Dr. Larchet, Prof. Wm. Starkie and Hamilton Harty.

Glancing through the notices of Irish musicians, it is irritating to find some of them labelled "British musicians," *e.g.*, George Bell, Mrs. Curwen and others. Strange, too, that many prominent Irish composers are ignored, while the magnificent Joly Collection (National Library) is omitted in the section on Libraries of Music, Irish Free State. The articles on Ludwig, Augusta Holmes, O'Leary and O'Mara need revision.

In the notice of Gerald Cumberland it might have been added that his real name is C. F. Kenyon, while Edward German was formerly known as German Edward Jones. Unaccountable is the omission of Mr. H. B. Collins, Mus.B., Organist of the Oratory, Birmingham, one of the chief living authorities on Tudor Music. There are slips in the dates of death of Goldmark and Liszt, while it might have been added that Asger Hamerik died on July 13, 1923, and William Ludwig on December 28, 1923. Other slips leap to the eye in the notices of Hubay, Harwood, and Conde de Morphy. But it is the barest justice to recommend this scholarly and splendidly produced compilation to those who would need accurate information on the modern school of music. In truth, it is an admirable supplement to Grove—of which, by the way, a new edition is now in course of publication under the editorship of Mr. H. C. Colles, M.A.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Mysticism

SPANISH MYSTICISM. A Preliminary Survey. By E. Allison Peers, M.A. London: Methuen. 1924. 12*s.* net.

The Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool has done three things very well in this admirable volume. He has given us a fine characteristic selection of texts from the great Spanish masters of spirituality of the golden Teresian age, excellent English versions and a model introduction, brief, picturesque and competent. The introduction is less than fifty pages in length, and yet Professor Allison Peers contrives to give us a wonderfully good and comprehensive picture of not the least important aspect of Spain's golden age, when she led the world in art, arms, and letters. Spain to-day has lost what her arms won then, but she can never lose in time the glories her artists and writers won for her, or in eternity the labours of her saints. In these specimens of Spanish literary work for God the amateur of letters will find much to interest him and the plain Christian much to edify him. As a sample of the literary and spiritual quality of this collection, we venture to transcribe the following sonnet by Pedro Malón de Chaide, an Augustinian friar, author of the *Conversion de la Magdalena*:—

O patience, that dost wait eternally!
O heart of mine so hard, that cannot love!
How am I wearied as from Thee I rove!
How dost Thou, never wearying, pardon me!

O Face Divine, how often did I see
Thy grieving gaze toward me sadly turned,
While I, my Lord, Thy laws have basely spurned,
And Thou hast loved and suffered silently.

Guardian of all men, turn Thy wrath away,
From this Thy child of earth, oh, turn again!
See, Thine own child I am; raise me, I pray,
For 'tis not pleasure now that makes me stray,
But habits fought and striven against in vain:
I hate the sin, and yet I sin alway.

Students of St. Teresa will find interesting extracts from the *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual* of Francisco de Osuna and the *Subida del Monte Sion por la via contemplativa* of Bernardino di Laredo. Of the thirteen authors quoted in this collection, more than half are unknown to the English-speaking world, and beyond St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross and St. Peter of Alcantara, the rest are only known by name or by a few stray quotations. We have good reason, therefore, to be grateful to Professor Allison Peers for enabling us to form some idea of their merit as spiritual writers. This is undoubtedly a book to buy and to keep on a handy shelf.

John Howley.

LES PHENOMENES MYSTIQUES. Par Mgr. Albert Farges. Paris : Maison de la Bonne Presse. 1920. 12 fr.

AUTOUR DE NOTRE LIVRE " LES PHENOMENES MYSTIQUES." *Réponses aux controverses de la presse.* Par Mgr. A. Farges. Paris (chez l'auteur). 1923. Pp. 106.

PERFECTION CHRETIENNE ET CONTEMPLATION. Par R. P. Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. Saint-Maximin (Var) : Editions de *La Vie Spirituelle.* 1923. 15 fr.

LA CONTEMPLATION MYSTIQUE D'APRES SAINT THOMAS D'AQUIN. Par R. P. F.-D. Joret, O.P. Bruges : Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie. 1923. 7 frs.

LA SAISIE IMMEDIATE DE DIEU DANS LES ETATS MYSTIQUES. Par R. P. Gabriel Picard, S.J. Paris : Editions Spes. 1923. 5 fr.

Les Phénomènes Mystiques is a reprint of a course of lectures on mystical and ascetical theology given during the years 1899 to 1905. Published in 1920, they excited a storm of controversy, not yet quite appeased. Mgr. Farges's general attitude towards mysticism, and in particular his theory of " species impressa infusa " as *the* cause of mystical experience, were warmly challenged by Chanoine Saudreau and the Dominican school led by Père Garrigou-Lagrange. The latter's *Perfection chrétienne et Contemplation* contains a reprint of articles in the *Vie Spirituelle* controverting Mgr. Farges's positions. Mgr. Farges replied very vigorously in the two pamphlets mentioned above. This polemical tone, though unavoidable, rather detracts from the permanent value of these works, both very remarkable in themselves. They set before us two divergent doctrines, both claiming legitimate descent from St. Thomas and neither free from objection. The system of Mgr. Farges would make mystical experience almost purely charismatic and miraculous, a thing to be most firmly discouraged by directors until God made it absolutely inevitable ; while the neo-Dominican theory of the relation of the " *dona Sancti Spiritus* " to mystical contemplation is so exclusive as almost to make mystical experience a *certain* sign of a state of grace, and we can almost fancy we see the tip of the ear of " assurance " peeping over the Dominican hedge. The older Dominican writers, Valgornera and Meynard, do not, it seems to the present reviewer, attribute mystical contemplation so exclusively to the " gifts." It may be that Pères Garrigou-Lagrange and Joret hold that it is not possible to determine with certitude, but only conjecturally, that a given contemplation (in the concrete) is mystical, but we do not gather this from their books. To point to mystical contemplation as a *de facto* revelation of the mystic being in a state of grace would get round the difficulty raised by the

decree of Trent, but it would almost necessarily restrict mystical contemplation to the Seventh Mansion of St. Teresa.

Like Mgr. Farges, Father Picard has thrown a bomb among students of mysticism. In his very interesting booklet he starts a theory of a possible natural apprehension of a very obscure coenesthesic order of God as present to the soul in the very roots of its intelligent being, and treats this obscure apprehension developed by grace as the ground of mystical experience. If the position is tenable, it would give us an explanation perhaps of the ecstacies of Plotinus, etc., but to the present reviewer's mind it seems based on that logical fallacy of equivocation which clings like the shirt of Nessus to writers on mysticism. God is present to the mind, and God is intelligible, therefore we have a right to expect some sort of apprehension from the contact. But is God intelligible *quoad nos?* Intelligible in this argument is an analogous term of the greatest possible disproportion. God is intelligible only to Himself in the natural order, the creature must be " deified " before it can know God as He is. But this point is not absolutely conclusive against Father Picard, and his speculation is receiving, as it well deserves, considerable attention from students of mysticism.

JOHN HOWLEY.

Philosophy

LE POINT DE DEPART DE LA METAPHYSIQUE. Par J. Maréchal, S.J. Cahiers I, II, III. Bruges: Beyaert: Paris: Alcan. 1923. 12*fr.* 50, each.

THIS splendid work promises to be one of the most important modern contributions to the development of Scholasticism. The sub-title : " Lectures on the historical and theoretical development of the problem of knowledge," gives a better idea of its contents than the title. The work arose from a series of lectures delivered by the author in 1914-1915. This fact accounts for the somewhat unsystematic arrangement of the work. Instead of writing a treatise on the theory of knowledge, the author prefers to convey his message by means of a historical treatment. As a history, the work does not aim at completeness, but rather at presenting in a series of monographic accounts, the main phases in the development of the problem of knowledge.

The first volume treats of the ancient and mediæval periods. The different forms of Greek scepticism are outlined ; and the systems of Plato and Aristotle are explained. These philosophers are not treated of in detail, only the essential points being expounded. The greater part of this volume is given to the problem of the One and the Many in mediæval philosophy, and especially to the theories of St. Thomas, D. Scotus, and Occam. The coherence of

the different parts of St. Thomas's theory is emphasized, and the vantage points it affords for the solution of the critical problem are brought out. The lengthy and clear expositions of the theories of Scotus and Occam will be especially welcome to students. The importance of a clear presentation of these views is shown by the fact that the spread of Nominalism in the later schools obscured for a long time the true character of the Thomistic theory.

The second volume, dealing with the modern pre-Kantian systems, begins with an interesting account of the theory of Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, and passes on to the systems of Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Leibniz, Wolff, and to those of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. The accounts of these philosophers are not mere outline sketches, but a series of monographs, which give the reader a satisfying grasp of the different systems. Though mainly occupied with exposition, the author constantly keeps before us the fluctuations and developments in the problem of knowledge, and indicates lines of criticism.

The third and largest volume is devoted to Kant. Though following closely the text of Kant, it does not aim at being a literal commentary ; it simplifies somewhat, so as to bring out the essential content of Kant's view. From the student's point of view, this method is very time-saving; and I do not know of any work that puts Kant's teaching so fully and at the same time so accessibly. The work is *au fait* with the most recent Kant scholarship ; and the student has the advantage of following out the development of Kant's thought through the pre-critical writings.

We look forward eagerly to the further volumes promised, which will include a treatment of post-Kantian Idealism ; and especially an exegetical and comparative account of the epistemology of St. Thomas. The author's scholarly and exact knowledge of ancient and modern systems fit him in a special way for the task of delineating the Thomistic theory with sharpness of outline and truth of perspective. J. Shine.

ARCHIVES DE PHILOSOPHIE. Cahier I : *Etudes d'histoire de la Philosophie.* Par. J. Souillié, P. Aubron, B. Romeyer, J. de Tonquédec ; G. Picard, Aug. Valensin.

ARCHIVES DE PHILOSOPHIE. Cahier II. : *Le problème critique fondamental.* Par. Gabriel Picard.

Paris : Beauchesne. 1923. 7*fr.* 50., and 8*fr.*

Students of Philosophy will welcome these Archives. The series is to appear not as a review, but as *cahiers* each concerned with some special subject-matter in Philosophy, and containing monographs and shorter studies, unedited texts, translations and com-

mentaries, critical and historical essays. A useful feature will be an annual philosophical bibliography, which will give an analysis of the principal studies, books and review articles, representing the development of philosophy during each year.

This first number holds out high hopes for the series. The articles include an analysis of the philosophical passage in Plato's Seventh Epistle, with a view to deriving from it some light for the interpretation of the Dialogues ; an account of Cajetan's commentary on Aristotle's doctrine of the union of subject and object in knowledge ; a discussion on St. Thomas's view of the science of the human mind, in which it is argued that not only the natures of material objects, but also the mind itself and its activities are included in the total direct and proper object of human knowledge. Further there are exegetical notes on the Thomistic view of knowledge and assimilation ; and a longer interesting discussion by G. Picard on intra-specific or individual objects according to St. Thomas and Suarez ; finally an exposition of Hegel's view of the history of philosophy.

Le problème critique fondamental. This profound and interesting study aims at solving the problem of the validity of knowledge in its most radical form. Several of the recent Scholastic solutions (*e.g.*, Balmes, Rousselot, and the Louvain school) are criticized on the ground that they do not take the problem back to its ultimate issue. The view here defended is that the ultimate source of certitude lies in the mind's intuition of itself. The immediate intuition of absolute being thus obtained is at the root of our knowledge of the ultimate principles and laws of being. This solution would suggest itself most naturally to a philosopher accustomed to the treatment of the problem of knowledge in France from Descartes onward. Solutions along similar lines have, however, been coming more into vogue among Scholastic writers. Important passages in St. Thomas support this view ; and the work of Dr. Zamboni above noticed ably brings out this aspect of his doctrine. This solution certainly provides us with a stronghold which, for purposes of defence, has many advantages over other theories. One may, perhaps, question whether the position it affords is also by itself sufficiently commanding. The learned author is fully aware of this difficulty, and sets up a very able defence. In criticizing some of the current views he is, perhaps, not quite fair in characterizing the mind's apprehension of the validity of first principles as mere 'confidence,' and in classing such theories accordingly as 'dogmatic.'

The work is a valuable contribution towards the solution of

this difficult problem, and is a model of clear argument and deep thought. J. SHINE.

Politics

CANADIAN FEDERATION. By Reginald George Trotter, Ph.D. London and Toronto: Dent. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*, net.

THIS book tells the story of the movement which created the Canadian Dominion from a revised and broadened angle of vision. The author has had access to much manuscript material never previously used, and has sought to avoid the limitations of the political chronicle narrowly focused upon the official scene. The first section comprises an account of early federation proposals, of the political situation which furnished occasion for the provinces to come together in conference, of the negotiations over the drafting of the scheme, and of the methods by which its formal acceptance by the provinces was at length secured. The second deals more particularly with certain economic phases of the movement, such as the trans-continental railway and the Hudson Bay Company, and with their political implications.

The narrative is of far more than local interest; for if the United States has been the prototype of modern federal republics, it is equally true that British America, in producing the Dominion of Canada, set the example for the establishment of free national governments within the British Commonwealth; and it is further true that she has been the principal exponent of the idea that such governments can maintain their essential autonomy and at the same time retain membership of the larger organisation. From this idea, it is but a step, if a long one, to the reconciliation of national autonomy with the necessities of international co-operation and organisation on a larger, even a world-wide, scale. It may therefore well be that the failure of the American revolutionists to drive England from the North American continent (which made the Dominion possible) will be accounted scarcely less important than their success in ushering in the United States of America.

Federation in Canada, as Mr. Trotter clearly shows, was not adopted as the result of a great popular demand. It was largely the work of a few men inspired by wide political visions, actuated by economic interest, and stimulated by dangers of foreign aggression. Not precedent but necessitous opportunity brought to birth the Canadian Dominion. Cartier the great reconciler of French Canada, Watkin the builder of railways, Brown the advocate of Representation by Population, and our own ill-fated but picturesque D'Arcy McGee who was both the prophet and martyr of Federation, all these and many others played a large part in converting a vague dream into a splendid reality.

For us, who are faced with the solution of a similar problem, of which the settlement of an Ulster boundary should not be the end, but the beginning, some interesting lessons may be gleaned from this book. The principal, perhaps, is that such questions are never settled by sudden and dramatic strokes, but by the slower, surer and less showy influences of economic interest, community of aims, intelligent goodwill and efforts to achieve mutual understanding. And it is well to note also that, in the final stages of the negotiations for federation, questions of finance gave the most difficulty. The federation of Canada was, of course, influenced by the problem of developing means of communication and transport, a problem which does not affect Ireland, but its founders had also deep differences of race and religion to overcome. We on the other hand have a clearly defined natural frontier, whose ultimate influence must be conclusive. It is, we think, abundantly clear that the final union of Ireland can only come through a federal process. A leading Canadian statesman (Sir George Foster), speaking of the still separated island of Newfoundland, said in 1917 : " So far as Canada is concerned with reference to Newfoundland, the latch string is always on the outside and the light is always burning." Only by a similar attitude on our part towards Ulster can Irish union be achieved. Insensate quarrels over the fixing of a boundary, which no Irishman of vision can ever look upon as permanent, seem to us to be neither statesmanship nor common sense. This view is reinforced by the example of Canada.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

L'IMPERIALISME D'ISRAEL. By Roger Lambelin. Paris : Grasset. 1924. 7*fr.* 50.

NOBODY who takes even the smallest degree of interest in political affairs can fail to be impressed by the presence in high places of Jews. At the present time—to take for example but the British Empire—India, Palestine and Queensland have Jewish governors, while the dominance of this people in finance is universal. How far Jews are influenced by loyalty to the country of their residence rather than by loyalty to their own race, to what extent they pursue a consistent and united policy all over the world, and in what measure they still acknowledge a central political and religious government of their own, are all questions upon which intelligent and well-informed discussion is always welcome. It is a pity therefore that the problems connected with Semitism are habitually the subject of rhetorical, not to say hysterical declamation. Half-veiled suggestions and vague suspicions are no substitute for calm inquiry and unimpassioned debate.

Unfortunately M. Lambelin is no exception to the general run of students of the Jewish question ; and the enthusiasm and warmth with which he envelops his essay is especially regrettable, because he is very well informed, not only about France, but about every country where Jews are to be found. What value, for example, is to be attached to the fact that Miss Megan Lloyd George acted as bridesmaid at the wedding of a Jewish friend, or that Lord Haldane (whom M. Lambelin, with the commendable desire to kill two birds with the one stone, describes as " l'ancien ministre germanophile ") gave Einstein a hearty welcome on his visit to England? What we would have liked M. Lambelin to explain is why it is that the Jews, who are admittedly the arch-capitalists, should at the same time be the arch-Bolshevists ; and why the same race that is accused of fomenting war should simultaneously be the secret force behind the League of Nations. We are assured that these extraordinary paradoxes exist ; but we would like some further demonstration of their existence beyond mere assertion and some further explanation of them besides their improbability. However, we must not be taken as suggesting that M. Lambelin's contribution to the discussion of Semitism is of no value ; on the contrary it is very well-informed and illuminating on many aspects of the problem. The chapters on the Zionist experiment in Palestine are of especial interest for Catholic readers. G. O'B.

Books for Children

A GUIDE TO CAPER. By Thomas Bodkin. Illustrated by Denis Eden. London: Chatto and Windus. 1924. 5*s.* net.

THIS is Mr. Bodkin in a vein of fantasy, with a sense of making pictures and a vision for the pictured thing which might be expected of him. He found Caper, that fabled city, at the end of his own road ; and indeed if we had eyes to see and ears to hear, there are Capers, as well as more beautiful and famous cities, nearer even than the other end of the road—all about us in fact, under our feet and over our heads and everywhere if we would only look to see. Mr. Bodkin's description is ingeniously wrought, and he is ably assisted by Mr. Denis Eden, an artist of vision and fancy, who makes a very quaint and wonderful thing of Caper. That is a very pleasant bit of prose in which Mr. Bodkin tells of the finding of Caper and why and wherefore he has invited his readers to follow him there. The detail in Mr. Eden's pictures is most satisfactory. One can see that both artist and author thoroughly enjoyed themselves in Caper, and they have shown others how to enjoy themselves. Is Caper an allegory or merely the plain truth as people see it ? I hope the latter, for Caper is very good fooling, rich in both caprice and capers. KATHARINE TYNAN.

SANTA CLAUS IN SUMMER. By Compton Mackenzie. London: Constable. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

A YOUNG lady who had been reading *Santa Claus in Summer*, a reading broken by ecstatic chuckles, described the book at one part of it as "a jolly good rag." Well, it is a jolly good rag in its very being. That the creator of Sylvia Scarlett and her like should suddenly come to walking with Titania and Puck and Santa Claus and Red Riding Hood and all the rest of the goodly company, through glades of Fairyland, in a perfect intimacy and understanding, is an excellent rag, and much better than that. It is a good joy. It would be even better, if Mr. Mackenzie liked that innocent company so much that he never went back to Sylvia Scarlett at all. *Santa Claus in Summer* is a wise, witty, whimsical, gentle book. One can hear peals of fairy laughter in it, and it has the very sunshine of Fairyland. There is a deal of poetry in it, too, and pity and sensitiveness and other things proper to the mortal rather than the immortal company of fairies. I do really and truly envy the child who possesses *Santa Claus in Summer*. The quips, the cranks, the jollities overflow. Here is a very little bit of the delicious ragging which goes on with unabated high spirits right through the book:—

"Wasn't that the horn of my old friend, Oberon, I heard just now?" said Santa Claus. "Don't you ever go hunting?"

"Not stag-beetles," said Puck contemptuously, "and anyhow the pack of dog-roses he has just now is a bad one—they're all too wild. They show their thorns if you make the least attempt to train them. Besides, I don't really care for these miniature sports. I don't mind big game like rats, or mouse-sticking with hedgehogs' squills."

And here, for poetic imaginativeness, is a description of Titania:

The Fairy Queen sat in front of her mirror, powdering her nose and admiring her new dress. The mirror was a square inch of well-water from Truth's Well, magically framed with beaten sunshine. Her puff was a dandelion seed, her powder was shimmering dust shaken from the wing of a peach-blossom moth. Her new dress was woven of silvery gossamer tied up with rainbows and she wore a crown of star-dust and a necklace of dew-drops and snowflakes. Her fan was a bee's wing and her shoes were made of willow-buds. For combs she had the antennae of moths and for a button-hook the proboscis of a butterfly. She brushed her golden hair with a hazel catkin and her clothes with wild barley. She washed her face with honey-dew in an acorn cup and dried it on a towel made from the skin of a mushroom. Her pins were nettle-stings, but if it was very windy she fastened her hat with a wasp-sting and, of course, if it was wet she never went out without her strong shoes of chestnut rind.

This is, I should say, the Fairy Book of the year and perhaps many years. It is full of honest laughter and most cheerful companionship, and the old glamour is not forgotten.

KATHARINE TYNAN.

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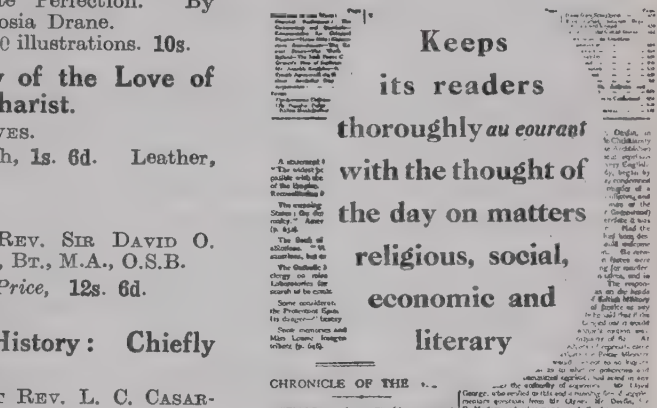

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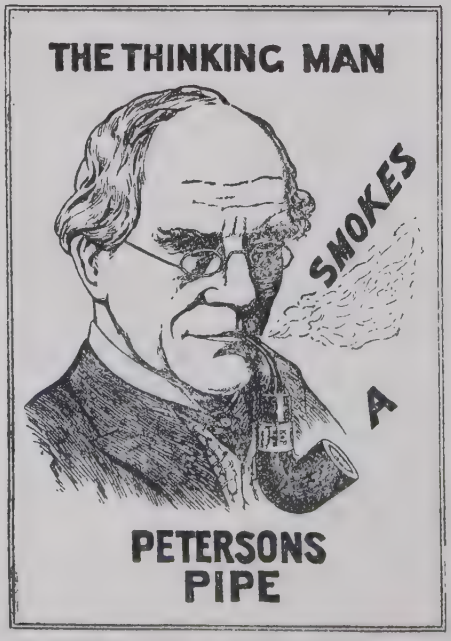

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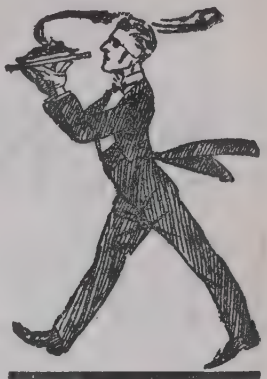

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